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THE  
ANDOVER REVIEW:

*A RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY.*

VOL. I.—JANUARY, 1884.—No. I.

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THE THEOLOGICAL PURPOSE OF THE REVIEW.

“LET us learn to live ACCORDING TO CHRISTIANITY.” This was the standard raised by a leader of the Primitive Church at a time of strenuous conflict between Christianity and Judaism. “Let us learn to live according to Christianity. . . . For Christianity did not believe into Judaism, but Judaism into Christianity, that every tongue which believes might be gathered together unto God.”

These memorable words define the theological as well as the ethical and practical purpose of this Review. They connect theology with life. They point out the path to unity of religious belief. They suggest the need and indicate the method of a Christian construction of Christian doctrine. Let us learn to *think* according to Christianity.

The Church that included an Irenæus, a Tertullian, an Origen, in its membership—the old Catholic Church—set up the standard of Apostolic tradition, both oral and written. The Ancient Church emphasized catholicity; the Mediæval Church, ecclesiastical tradition; Protestantism, Sacred Scripture. Each of these tests of doctrine has a legitimate place and necessary function. We should not fail to understand the significance and validity of each. But for our time it is even more important to recover the vital element in each; to recur to an earlier, profounder, and more comprehensive test; to revive the primitive consciousness of spiritual truth; to realize the living gospel out of which came the gospel that Apostles preached; to require that ecclesiastical confessions and dogmas and all theological creeds and systems prove themselves, if they can, to be truly Apostolic and Biblical by showing that they are genuinely Christian. This is not to set up a higher standard than Apostolic authority or Sacred Scripture. It simply requires us to understand what such phrases mean; that

the letter is not the spirit, though we cannot find the spirit save by the help of the letter; that the Bible is an organism whose life is in the Incarnate Word; that Christ is the subject of Christian dogma as well as its revealer; that all religious truth has its unity in Him. Theology is the science of God. God is revealed in Christ. The possibility, the unity, the verification, of a science of divinity are given in Him, and in Him alone.

It is one of the plain, broad, suggestive facts of history that no religion save the Christian has ever developed a living theology. Even Judaism has transmitted to us no "Body of Divinity." Still less has any heathen religion produced anything like that progressive scientific development of its dogmas which Christian history presents. As the early Church saw what Christ is in the system of things and felt its union with Him, it became aware that it had a possession of truth committed to it which for the good of men it must preserve, a source of truth opened to it from which it ought continually to draw. It became of necessity a theologizing church. It felt itself in union and communion with the Eternal Word, and therefore it had a doctrine. It believed that the Logos of the new creation is the Logos of the old. He is the Eternal Reason, the Author of human reason, the Maker of the universe, the giver and inner Reason of its laws, the Principle of revelation in Sacred Scripture. Christianity is his workmanship, the product and expression of his reason and will. Whatever is truly rational is in harmony with Christianity and allied to it. All thinking not in harmony with Christianity is irrational. Susceptible of abuse as such a conception of the authority of Christianity is readily seen to be, it is its immediate and necessary outgrowth. For Christianity is essentially a *Credo*, not a ceremonial, nor a cultus, nor a system of types and symbols, nor a prophecy, but a revelation through a divine revealer, a faith, a creed. This revelation which God has made of himself in Jesus Christ is given to us in the Scriptures. It is also attested by the witness of the Spirit. A genuine Christian doctrine has a subjective as well as objective basis. The divine word is received by faith. There is thus produced a new, a regenerated consciousness, which becomes itself the spring of a new knowledge. The true theologian is not a mere collector and classifier of proof-texts, but a reproducer of the divine testimony. Truth thus received and wrought out is not something simply above human reason and conscience, but something friendly to the soul, commending and attesting itself in life and conduct; not a law of commandments, nor a handwriting of

ordinances, but a law of the spirit of life, which frees from the law of sin and death, and discloses itself more and more fully as absolutely authoritative. And from this knowledge reason, in accordance with its own laws, which are laws of the Author of Christianity, advances to larger conquests and possessions of truth. Men sneer at religious dogmas and rail at their authority, deny their possibility or rank them with things that perish. Many dogmas have become extinct. Others must go. Not all is genuine which wears the garb of orthodoxy. But a genuine Christian dogma is not simply a divine revelation; it is also the surest and grandest achievement of human reason. It is enduring as the Eternal Reason. It is the mind of Christ formed within the minds of those who have learned to think in his school and after Him. It has for us the authority of God, and at the same time it becomes the believer's personal conviction and assurance. A brilliant and fascinating preacher has said that creeds are like birds' nests. They give a place of rest; but, like birds' nests, they should be pulled down and built new every year. Too much occasion and justification have been given for such a saying. It suggests a caution, but it misses a fact. The Church has not wholly failed to realize its calling and prerogative in the domain of religious doctrine. Amid all that is variable in creed and theology, there are constant elements, truths and logical statements of truths, that abide through the centuries. The imperfection of the work should not blind us to the high calling of the workmen. "Ye are of more value than many sparrows." "Ye are my friends." And this is the privilege of friends, to know the truth of God. "Henceforth I call you not servants, for the servant knoweth not what his Lord doeth; but I have called you friends: for all things that I have heard of my Father I have made known unto you." There is a kind of depreciation of creed and dogma which is at bottom a depreciation of reason and liberty and Christianity. Sparrows produce no Brunelleschis nor Michael Angelos. They spread no spacious domes over myriads of worshipers in the succession of centuries. It is derogatory to human reason, as well as to the Christian Church and Christian science, to deny to it the power of building for all time. "I have ordained you that your fruit should remain." Birds' nests! If theologians are tom-tits! It is derogatory, also, and hostile to Christianity. Through the centuries dogmatic statements have sprung from Christianity as naturally as trees from seeds. Christianity will doubtless continue to produce them to the end of time. The symbol of Judaism was circumcision.

The symbol of Christianity is the Apostles' Creed, — *Symbolum Apostolicum*, — out of which has sprung, and will continue to grow, a theology centring in Christ, the only begotten Son of the Father, the Eternal Word.

Yet in the development of religious truth, as received by faith, into scientific dogma there have always been at hand two serious dangers.

One peril is that the scientific statement or system will lose or loosen its connection with the religious life at its root, and with the progress of Christianity.

The history of theology shows that a scholastic period inevitably follows one of new religious life and movement.

It was so in the Greek Church. There were the first centuries of Christian faith and heroism, and a series of great theologians imbued with the spirit of the Primitive Church. They developed a theology which was summed up in the early Ecumenical creeds. Then followed the Greek scholasticism and the substitution of orthodoxy for piety.

So was it in the Latin Church. Augustine, by a wonderful preparation through an experience, first, of the insufficiency of the Latin religion and philosophy to satisfy the wants of the soul, and especially to make it pure, and then by an equally thorough experience of the renewing and hallowing power of the gospel, developed the Christian doctrine of grace as it never before had been expressed. Then followed the Latin scholasticism, and the substitution of obedience for faith and of legalism for submission to the reasonable and spiritual authority of Christ.

Again, at the Reformation, the leaders of the movement, guided by the Spirit of God, and through the fresh use of the Scriptures, developed the truth of Justification by Faith only, — Faith receiving the free forgiveness offered in Christ. The Christian world was waiting for this doctrine. It was water to the thirsty, liberty to the captive, life to the dead. It proclaimed "the freedom of the Christian man." After this, Lutheranism and Calvinism, each became scholastic. Have we not seen, on a smaller scale, the operation of the same law in the New England theology, since the great awakening and the publication of Edwards's "Treatise concerning Religious Affections"?

This invariable sequence shows clearly two things. Scholasticism has a relative necessity. The new life, or new elements in religious life, must become subjects of reflection. The possessions of Faith must be subjected to the examination of the logical un-

derstanding. The truth immediately known must be reduced to definite statement, and the propositions thus obtained form the premises of logical processes. In this way religious thought takes account of its gains, and comes to a better understanding of them both in themselves and in their relations to other scientific acquisitions. Only ignorance or prejudice will treat systematic theology with indifference. If the spiritual theology of the Reformation had not been scholasticized, Protestantism would probably have been defeated in every university of Europe, and the choice of the nations would have been either Romanism or infidelity.

But there is a limit to the scholastic process. When the truths taken up in an era of religious progress are precisely stated, when everything, certain premises or definitions being allowed, has become clear to the understanding, there follows of necessity a reaction. For it is always found that certain logical deductions are inconsistent, not necessarily with anything in the system of which they form a part, — though usually this also is the case, — but certainly and inevitably with something or other in that broader and profounder religious life which the Spirit of God keeps alive in the Church as He witnesses in it ever of the things of Christ. Sooner or later it appears that the postulates, the definitions, are too narrow or exclusive, that something more needs to be taken up into the system, and that this something more saves from conclusions otherwise established. The Greek theology needed a better doctrine of sin and grace; the Latin theology, a better doctrine of guilt and atonement; the Scholastic Reformed theology, a more free and comprehensive use of the historical facts of the Scriptures; the Lutheran, a truer sense of the kingdom of God and the organic power of the gospel; both Lutheran and Reformed, Evangelical and Puritan, a more Christian conception of personality. It was for a time a vigorous and stately tree of knowledge which grew up out of the Reformation; but when, in the seventeenth century, its roots began to be cut off from the perennial springs of a religious life, and the soil about it, instead of being kept open to celestial influences, was trampled hard by contending hosts of polemic theologians and religious zealots, the tree stopped growing. It would have died to the roots had there not been fresh recurrence to the sources of life, new culture, better methods.

Another peril is that in the process of formulating Christian doctrine foreign and incongruous materials will be introduced.

Ideally the phrase "Christian doctrine" denotes something per-

fectly true, a correct reflection of the truth revealed in Christ. Experimentally and practically it includes that appropriation and explication of this truth which has been going on in the Church to the present time. It means revealed truth interpreted, applied, logically developed, formally stated, by Christian minds. It denotes, thus, not an immediate revelation, but a reproduction and development of Apostolic teaching according to the laws which govern human thought; in a word, the Christian Faith in the form of scientific knowledge. The process by which this result is reached shares in the imperfection of those who work it out. Take the beliefs of the Christian Church, the statements of its theologians at any point during the past eighteen centuries down to the nineteenth, and history shows that the teachings of any two succeeding ages are not precisely equivalent nor altogether harmonious. And every now and then come great epochs of reform. It cannot reasonably be questioned that every reader of these pages is now holding some belief as a part of his Christian faith, some dogma as a part of his theology, which Christian men of later generations will reject. This experimental law of belief should teach modesty. It should stimulate reflection on the true method of theological construction. Mistakes cannot be wholly avoided; but excessive dogmatism can be curtailed, and wisdom can be learned from sage experience. The one lesson which comes to us from every page of the history of doctrine is the necessity of a strenuous endeavor to think according to Christianity. Two or three historic illustrations will serve to impress this lesson.

The first great theological task of the Church was to construct a Christian doctrine of God. The process started rightly. It took the revelation made in Christ. It was guided on the whole through the early centuries by a right instinct. It sought to apprehend the Divine Being as Triune. But down to the time when Augustine wrote his epoch-making treatise on the Trinity, and even in its pages, it is easy to see how the way to a clear apprehension of the Christian revelation was obstructed or obscured by a conception of the divine transcendence which was extra-scriptural in its origin and anti-scriptural in its nature. We refer to the philosophic notion that God, as the Absolute, is a Being whose nature is such that He cannot come into direct connection with the finite, nor communicate with men. This Alexandrian philosopheme seems to have been taken up by Justin Martyr almost at the beginning of Christian theology, and the consequent method of his thought as disclosed in his placid dialogue with Trypho is exceedingly instructive; for



we see as in a mirror a typical instance of a law which operates through the whole history of Christian theology, the disturbing influence of extraneous and incongruous forces. Justin the Martyr was in full communion with the Church of his day in its faith in Christ as the Son of God and God. "God He is called," he says in his hearty way, "and God He is, and will be." Yet Justin conceives of the Son as begotten by the will of the Father, and associates his Sonship invariably with the thought of the creation. He is a hypostasis necessary to creation and revelation, the beginning of God's ways to his works. That is, Justin's theology does not express or fairly represent his Christian faith. We see the beginnings of an Arian theory of Christ. A being dependent for his existence on the will of another is not necessarily existent, is not clearly and permanently distinguished from created beings. Arius followed the logic of such statements to the end. The Son, he taught, is a creature, incapable of bringing God to man and man to God. Justin, doubtless, did not foresee such consequences. His fault was one of method. That ethical exaltation of God which pervades the theology of the Old Testament is associated in Justin's mind with a metaphysical exaltation which savors more of the Alexandrian philosophy than of the Scriptural teaching. In dealing with the exceedingly difficult problem forced upon him in combating Judaism, and as a Christian apologist, he did not appreciate the truth that, since Christianity is a special revelation, the special motive and principle of a Christian doctrine of God must be found in this revelation. The formula of his method, roughly stated, was: Given the Alexandrian doctrine of the Absolute and the Jewish doctrine of the numerical unity of God, to find room for the Christian faith in Christ as God. Given the Oneness, to obtain as much of a Trinity as is practicable. We miss the exact monotheism of the Old Testament. We miss the "God in Christ" of Paul's and Polycarp's Epistles. We miss the Christology of John: "In the beginning was the Word;" "God so loved the world;" "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father." We miss the elevation and precision of the Nicene symbol, "very God of very God . . . co-essential with the Father." We miss, in a word, a conception of the Divine Nature formed by what is specific in the revelation made by Christ; that is, we miss a Christian doctrine of God. It cost the Church three centuries of controversy, it cost Athanasius, one of its purest and greatest leaders, his five banishments and twenty years of exile, before this erroneous method was overcome.

The treatment of the ethical materials of theology by some of the Fathers, and especially by the Mediaeval schoolmen, affords another and a striking instance of the same peril. It deserves particular attention because, far more than is commonly recognized, modern theological ethics have been dominated by the method thus introduced. Indeed, it is only in our own time that a distinctively Christian ethics is appearing. The systems of theology native to our soil and most in use make no account of any distinction between Systematic Divinity and Christian Ethics; and — which is far worse, for this defect may be chiefly formal — they make no attempt at a rigorous Christian ethics. One can see at a glance the confusion, now more or less skillfully covered up, by looking into the writings of the men who first introduced this pernicious method; into the “*De Officiis*,” for instance, of Ambrose, or into the “*Sentences*” of the Lombard, or Aquinas’s “*Summa*.” Dr. Uhlhorn says: —

“The first Christian Ethic is the work of Ambrose, ‘*On Duties*.’ It borrows its title, and something more than its title, from Cicero’s famous work. . . . The teachers of the Church found a complete and well-worked-out philosophical system of Ethic. They had learned this in the schools. . . . Hence they accepted the entire framework of ancient Ethic, its categories and definitions, and used it for the insertion of the new Christian matter. The new wine was put into old bottles, and this could not be done without its acquiring their flavor. The form influenced the matter, and the result was not a Christian Ethic, but a mixture, which is perceived to have flowed from two sources, one ancient, one Christian, just as Basil was at once a Christian and a classically educated Greek, and Ambrose a Christian and a genuine Roman; nay, just as the Christianity of those days was of similarly mixed appearance, rooted on the one side in Bethlehem and Golgotha, on the other in Rome and Athens.”

Peter Lombard’s summary of human virtues makes the method palpable. In his “*Sentences*,” for long the leading text-book in divinity, he derives from the traditional teaching and from Scripture three theological virtues, Faith, Hope, Charity; then from Greek philosophy, four cardinal virtues, Justice, Fortitude, Prudence, Temperance; then from Isa. xi. 2, 3 (Vulgate) seven gifts, Wisdom, Understanding, Counsel, Fortitude, Knowledge, Piety, Fear of the Lord. Aquinas’s system is much more elaborate, but shows the same unadjusted double point of view, that of the natural man and that of the spiritual man, the ethics of Aristotle and the



ethics of Paul. And so in many a later writer. The natural and the supernatural, God and the world, are not only distinguished but separated. The conception of Nature as preformed to be the instrument and organ of the divine wisdom and love; of the soul as created for a holy life, in communion with God; of grace as so related to the will that the more grace the more freedom; of all Christian virtue as having a common root in Christian faith and a common essence in holy love; of salvation as a redeemed and purified life; of self-devotement for Christ's sake, and not for reward; of a Christian use and conquest of this world, as well as of an inheritance of the world to come, — all this is either so wholly lost sight of, or, to say the least, so obscured and overlaid, so mixed with inferior or irreconcilable principles, that a true development of Christian life is made impossible. Dr. Uhlhorn has powerfully exhibited the evil influence of a "double Ethic" in the Ancient Church in respect to charity. Its pernicious influence was greater in the Mediæval Church. It affects to-day the benevolent offerings of our churches. The ethics of Christian giving — the duty, motive, methods, instrumentalities, of a genuine Christian charity — need to be developed from a purely Christian point of view. So with other Christian obligations. The incongruous blending of pagan with Christian, of Jewish with Evangelical elements in the ritual and practice of the Roman Catholic Church is a commonplace with Protestant polemics. It is time that a clearer consciousness was reached that Protestantism itself has not eliminated all such disturbing factors. Indeed, a "double Ethic," more or less discordant, may be traced through the history of the Church from the date of the "Shepherd" of Hermas to our own time. In his treatise "On the Freedom of a Christian Man," Luther opened a new path, which has been too much neglected. The development of Christian ethics is a work to which Protestant theologians are peculiarly called. It is still and more than ever before an imperative necessity as respects the purity and efficiency of the Church in the manifold spheres of its activity and influence.

One other illustration of the exposure in formulating doctrine to extra-christian and partially unchristian influences must, for the present, suffice. We take it from the modern Church, and from the Protestant theology we have inherited. Let any man carefully and candidly review the history of the doctrine of Imputation since the Reformation, and he will have a vivid sense of how theology mixes water with the pure wine of divine truth. The anthropology of the Reformers and of the leading Protestant

symbols was in general a revived Augustinianism, and was opposed to the Pelagianism and Semi-Pelagianism which had become current in the Romish Church. As a revived Augustinianism it inherited some of the defects of Augustine's anthropology, especially his imperfect apprehension of Personality. It contained, indeed, from the beginning a reformatory element, in its sense of personal guilt and need of reconciliation to God, and in its assurance of divine forgiveness; and these personal elements latent in the moving principle of the Reformation, Justification by Faith only, have been developing through the modern period. But, at every stage of the course, they have encountered in the Church and in the teaching of its theologians foreign and hostile elements, which appear conspicuously in the history of the doctrine of imputed sin and guilt, and give it the character of a process of elimination. The Reformers were realists. All men, by participation, sinned in Adam, and fell with him in his first transgression, and for this cause deserve eternal damnation. The first serious modification of this belief, leaving out of account for a moment the Arminian remonstrance, was through the development of the conception of a covenant relation between God and man. Applied first and exclusively to the covenant of grace, its extension soon followed to the covenant of works, a relation supposed to have been established between Adam and his posterity on the one part and the Divine Being on the other. At first the conception of a federal relation was added to that of a natural or realistic connection; then superseded it. About the time the Puritans came to this country a movement began among the French Calvinists which, within the century, went through, on a narrower line, the leading phases of the New England Theology from Edwards to Finney, — not to say Channing. Its leading thought was moral agency. Through both of these special developments, and through the original Arminianism and the more powerful and evangelical Methodism of the Wesleys and their successors, not only has the original conception of imputed guilt disappeared, but even the word "Imputation," once so prominent, has given place to other and better terms.

If it were necessary to our purpose, these illustrations might easily be multiplied. It could readily be shown how even within the past two hundred years philosophic, juridical, governmental assumptions have been taken up, one after another, into the changing theological formulas, and one after another have been superseded; how futile the endeavor has proved to frame Christian

doctrine through a use of proof-texts dominated by conceptions, philosophic or otherwise, of the divine attributes; how the real growth, the genuine and admirable progress which has been made, has been due to its promoters having become more and more Christian in their conceptions of honor and right, of justice and grace, of creation and its laws, of government and its prerogatives, of persons with their correlative duties and rights, of God and man, of this life and the life beyond; how many, how great and serious, errors might have been avoided if the aim had been more intelligent and resolute to think according to Christianity.

If we had space it would point the same moral to notice the endeavor now making in certain quarters to construct improved statements of Christian doctrine through the postulates and dogmas, and even the terminology, of natural science. The Christian theologian must welcome all discoveries of the laws and methods of Nature. The author of Redemption is the Lawgiver of the Universe. The unity of the *Cosmos* is a theological principle. But the attempted identification of natural law with supernatural, of the forces with which physical science deals and those which rule in the spiritual sphere, is but a new instance of an old peril. Calvinism cannot be established by Darwinism, admitting Darwinism to be itself established. An outcome of the universe in a survival of the fittest may or may not be a true conception. It can only be a Christian one when interpreted so as to admit and emphasize a condescension of the Giver of Law to the cross and the tomb, a personal forgiveness of sin, a divine Shepherd who seeks and recovers the lost.

It is possible that some who may do us the honor to read this article may infer that in advocating a development of Christian theology and ethics more rigorously determined by the genius of the Christian religion, we are unfriendly to what is called natural theology. We disclaim any such antagonism. The problems of theology are problems of philosophy. The latter has its rights, — its independent rights, — and it is indispensable. Naturalism, materialism, agnosticism, atheistic and pantheistic systems, must be met on the plane of rational belief and knowledge. If we reason at all upon the things of faith, we must reason according to the laws of logic. Christian consciousness is as real and authoritative as natural consciousness, but religion cannot supersede, annul, nor alter a single constitutional principle of the human mind. If Christianity is true it cannot be discordant with any other truth. If it is what it claims to be, the final and perfect religion for man and the highest truth, all other truth will in the end do it homage.

It promotes investigation in every department of knowledge. That for which we contend is that Christianity is a revelation, the crowning revelation of God to men ; that it is a given historical and spiritual magnitude ; that it brings into evidence its own truth, its own laws, and is to be understood in its own clear light. Attested by its own evidences, announcing and substantiating its own origin and purpose, master in its own sphere, it demands of right a scientific construction of its doctrines harmonious with its own genius and ruled by its own central and supremely authoritative principle. Natural theology should believe into Christianity, not Christianity into natural theology. Pagan ethics should not shape Christian ethics, though the latter cannot contradict any truth the former may contain. Any philosophy has much to learn which finds itself unable to embrace even a single fact in the spiritual realm ruled by Christ. Human consciousness attains its normal purity and recovers its line of constitutional development just in proportion as it is genuinely Christian. The highest ultimate aim of the philosopher as well as of the theologian will be to think according to Christianity.

The editors of this Review will welcome to its pages the contributions of men of various schools of thought who are seeking with them to develop a truly Christian theology. We believe that the Ignatian maxim already quoted points the way to a profounder, clearer, more practical apprehension of revealed truth than has yet been gained, to a larger charity, to a higher unity. We are the farthest possible from any conceit of leadership ; we simply have convictions which have cost us something, and which we hope may be of help to others. We desire help from others. We seek to promote large-minded, large-hearted discussions of Christian truth, recognizing our own limitations, and the many-sidedness and growing proportions of the truth as it is in Jesus. We desire especially to do what we may to confirm the faith of believers in the essential truths of the gospel, to unite them in intelligent and effective Christian work, and for this end to aid in the development of a Christian theology which by its genuineness and purity, its reality and comprehensiveness, shall stimulate and sustain the highest endeavor for the advancement of Christ's kingdom. To our thought, there is a preparation and demand for better statements of Christian doctrine in the religious life of our time. This is a missionary age. Never before has that enthusiasm for humanity, which is from the very heart of Christianity, so taken possession of the Church. There is need of a more distinct theological recognition

of the providential and spiritual leadership of the world by its Redeemer and Lord; of a theology which discerns his greatness, and which sets over against the terrible magnitudes of human misery and sin and guilt the magnitudes of his person, his cross, his lordship, his final coming as the Judge of mankind. If this Review is helpful to the growth and diffusion of such beliefs, its theological purpose will be fulfilled. The present article will be followed by others, from different pens, in harmony with its spirit and design, and treating of particular Christian doctrines.

*Egbert C. Smyth.*

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### CHRISTIANITY AND ÆSTHETICISM.

RIGHTEOUSNESS and service are the two ruling principles of the Christian law, the foci of the curve by which it describes conduct. The two ideas of righteousness and service may be nearly identical to perfect moral vision: to an angel, doing right and doing good may be always the same thing; but it is more convenient for most of us to separate them in our thinking. Righteousness is obedience to an ideal law that reports itself in consciousness long before we are able to give any clear statement of its contents. Men's judgments differ widely as to what is right; but they do not differ, except as they have been sophisticated by a bad philosophy, in the belief that there is a right to be done and a wrong to be shunned, nor in the conviction that they ought to cleave to the one and resist the other. The Christian ethics recognizes this untaught belief and this sense of obligation as fundamental, and builds on them. It endeavors to enlighten our judgments, that we may have clearer knowledge of what right is; but it assumes that we know that we ought to do right, and it holds us firmly to that obligation.

Not merely conformity to an ideal rule of conduct, but unselfish ministry to the needs of our fellow-men is enjoined by the Christian law. He whom we call Master and Lord went about doing good, and He calls his disciples to follow him in the same path.

These two principles of integrity and benevolence have been steadily held up to men for eighteen centuries as the cardinal principles of conduct, and the central elements of character. To all men, asking how they may live aright, the New Testament makes answer, "Live uprightly; live unselfishly." And it must

not be forgotten that Christianity makes these ethical elements supreme. It inculcates faith, but faith is always the servant of righteousness and love. We believe, not for the sake of believing, but because, by believing, we may obtain power to fulfill the law of righteousness, which is also the law of love. Whatever other elements may be included in the divine sacrifice for men, it is acknowledged by all that the deepest meaning of it is not perceived until we behold the divine love going forth after men to rescue them from the ruin into which their sins have plunged them, and to lead them in paths of righteousness. Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth, but only when He has made them righteous in thought and word and deed. He saves his people from their sins. The religion of the New Testament finds its crown and its completion in right conduct; we fast, we pray, we sing our solemn hymns, we believe and trust and worship, that we may gain strength for holy living and faithful service.

It is true that the supremacy of the ethical has not always been well understood by the professors of Christianity; its ritual and dogmatic elements have sometimes been unduly exalted, but the fact is there in the documents, and it has not been possible for the most perverse interpretation wholly to conceal it. At the end of nineteen Christian centuries we find this truth generally recognized among Christians, that the end of religion is right character; that no philosophy of Christianity will stand that does not make character the supreme thing.

Not only so; until very lately it was accepted outside the Church as a truth — almost as a truism — that the Christian estimate is right; that right character is the main thing. Even those who handle the Christian records rather freely, finding in them no supernatural element, have joined to extol the service they have rendered to morality in lifting it into the place of eminence. "Conduct is three fourths of life," says our latest distinguished guest, Professor Matthew Arnold; and the Bible, he insists, is, above all other books, the book of conduct; there is much of superstition in the Bible, but it says, and says over again, and keeps saying, until it makes us believe it, that righteousness is the principal thing; and it tells us, too, the one truth that is higher than heaven and deeper than hell — the truth which experience enables us to verify — that behind all the forces of the universe is an eternal power that makes for righteousness.

Our literature has been saturated with this ethical element;



all our social commerce has expressed it. There have been many who did not obey the moral law, but few who would not freely own that they ought to obey it; few who would not confess that righteousness is the principal thing, that an unselfish service of our fellow-men is the supreme obligation.

By some moralists, the claims of morality have been overstated. They have not only made it supreme, as it ought to be, they have made it exclusive, as it ought not to be. Conduct is three fourths of life, but conduct is not everything. Other elements enter into human experience. Art, as well as morality, has valid claims upon the life of man. Beauty, as well as righteousness, is offered for his worship. Beauty, as well as holiness, is an attribute of the Being whom we worship. The nature of God appeals to our æsthetic faculties as truly as to our ethical. "The beauty of the Lord" has found expression in his works, and it is offered to us for our admiration and delight. The pleasure that we find in natural beauty, and in our own reproduction and idealization of it is, therefore, innocent and legitimate; the loveliness of the things that are made, whether by God himself, or by the sons of God into whom He has breathed his own spirit, affords us a pure and perennial refreshment. No proof of the goodness of the Creator is stronger than that which is shown us in the beauty of his works.

Thus the realm of the æsthetical is set alongside the realm of the ethical; there is a domain of duty, and there is also a domain of refined and rational pleasure. The man who answers God's call by saying, "I obey: I serve," answers it also by saying, "I admire: I rejoice." Man's chief end, in his relation to God, is not only to glorify Him by doing his will, but also to enjoy Him forever, and forever includes this hour.

These two realms of human life have long been contending for the supremacy. As soon as the arts and the refinements of civilization begin to express and to stimulate man's love of beauty, the dispute arises as to the relative rank of art and morality.

The Greek civilization, in its luxurious days, took beauty for its constructive idea; the master-word of that civilization was art. To a Greek of the later times, ethical considerations were secondary, if not meaningless; criticism had stripped religion of her authority; patriotism was a slender bond; the strenuous sense of obligation which vibrates through the tragedies of Sophocles had ceased to stir the hearts of men; their religion was self-pleasing, and their philosophy, even, was little more than the diversion of the

learned. Some feeling of moral obligation must have been left to them, for man cannot be wholly divested of his crowning faculty; but the feeling was scarcely a motive; it did not move men.

The English Puritanism, on the other hand, was purely ethical. It knew no law but duty. The æsthetical sentiments were banned; the admiration of beauty was a misdemeanor. Some sense of the beautiful must have lingered in the breasts of the grimmest of the Puritans, for this sentiment, though less deeply rooted in the nature of man than the moral sentiment, is yet a vital element in him, and not easily killed; but it was secretly indulged, if indulged at all; art had a smaller place in the life of the Puritan than morality had in the life of the Hellenist.

Now, as between these two types — the Greek Paganism and the English Puritanism — the latter is the worthier. Morality is the principal thing; art ought to be subordinate; civilization without art would be better than civilization without righteousness. But neither would be complete civilization. That contemplates the perfect manhood of the race, with no part wanting.

The unloveliness of Puritanism need not be disputed. Its rigors were overstrained. Life was never meant to be so bleak and bare as the Puritans made it. From such severity a reaction was sure to come. It did come in England, after the manner of a deluge, at the time of the Restoration; if its coming in America was somewhat delayed, it has been long on the way; its overwhelming arrival on these shores is a fact too patent to need proclamation.

One who carefully watches the development of social morality must have noted, within twenty-five years, a gradual change of the regulative sentiments underlying conduct in what is called polite society. With the growth of wealth and the increase of luxury, the notions of the wealthier classes about obligation seem to have been silently undergoing modification. I do not think that this change affects the whole of society; perhaps the class of persons who heartily accept the Christian rule, and faithfully endeavor to obey it, is relatively as large now as ever it was: my own opinion is, that it is larger than ever. But this class never yet was in the majority, even in the most austere societies. The people who care more for pleasing themselves, in one way or another, than for living uprightly or benevolently have always been numerous enough, even in our churches. In former times, however, this purpose was never avowed; those who acted under it often carefully concealed it from themselves. Nearly every one acknowledged the



ethical rule of the New Testament as binding, owned that he ought to seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness; that he was bound to use his strength in helping the weak to bear their burdens; that self-pleasing was not the right rule of life. Of those who frankly said, "I live for myself; I mind my own business; I cannot concern myself with other people's needs or troubles; my problem is to get the greatest possible advantage and enjoyment for myself out of this life," there were not many. Such a sentiment would have been voted atrocious by the great majority of those who practically guided their lives by it.

Of late years, there is less of this theoretical adherence to a standard practically repudiated. The people who profess Christianity, but practice Paganism, as Herbert Spencer keenly puts it, are less numerous than formerly; but their number has been reduced by bringing profession down to the level of practice. This is not an unmixed evil. If you propose to live by the Pagan rule, it may be well to avow it; certainly it is not well to deny it. But this change is far from being an unmixed good. Something is gained by the abandonment of hypocrisies; something also is lost by the degradation of ideals. There is always a measure of disparity between our standards and our conduct; if there were not, no progress would be possible. When every moral standard is abandoned that is not perfectly realized in conduct, there will be moral stagnation. Many a man has been saved by holding on to a plan of life which was very poorly worked out. And while we may say that it is better not to avow the Christian law of righteousness and service if we are determined not to conform to it, we may also say that for any man voluntarily to renounce that standard of living and turn away to a baser one is a great renunciation — a great moral catastrophe. Yet this is what not a few of our neighbors seem to be doing. They are loosening, little by little, the bands of obligation that they have heretofore recognized as binding them; they are beginning to ask themselves whether the law of righteousness be not rather tyrannical; whether the command to love others as ourselves be not too hard for any rational person to think of obeying; whether it were not better to take an easier rule than the Christian rule, and forbear to strain after the impracticable.

Signs of this change in the standards of conduct appear on every hand among the luxurious classes. It is not very uncommon to hear people say that they do not consent to the law of philanthropy; that they intend to please themselves; that they

do not recognize any claims of humanity upon them for a life of service. "We that are strong, and prosperous, and fortunate intend," they say, "to live as pleasantly as we can; to have no associates that are not congenial; to do no work for others that is not agreeable; to gratify our own tastes; to please ourselves."

The change of sentiment to which I refer is revealed in the literature provided for the diversion of the luxurious classes. Twenty-five years ago, the popular novels and poems were charged with the Christian sentiments. Take the stories of Dickens, for an example: the Christian virtues of fidelity and self-sacrifice were depicted with glowing sympathy in every one of them; the ideal of the novelist, badly as it was worked out in his own life, is the Christian ideal. The same is true of Thackeray: the thin veil of cynicism thrown over his characters does not conceal the deep sympathy of the writer with genuine altruism. The poems of that time, those of the Brownings and Tennyson in England, and of our own Bryant and Longfellow and Whittier and Lowell, struck the same chord; the praise of purity and integrity, and heroic self-forgetfulness and devotion to all human welfare was the theme of these poets in their noblest songs. Some of these voices are not yet silent; but what shall we say of the writers of this period? It appears to me that, without speaking of the distinctively moral element, there is a marked absence of philanthropic sentiment from much of our latest literature. There is no call for sweeping remarks, and there are illustrious exceptions to the statement I am making. It is quite possible, too, that the change of which I speak may be due, in part, to a natural revulsion from a kind of philanthropic cant, with which our literature was lately somewhat overstocked. It is possible, again, that the "enthusiasm of humanity," in the breasts of some writers, may have been chilled by a discovery of the mischiefs caused by an effusive and indiscriminating charity. Such natural causes may account, in part, for the change which we note in the tone of our polite literature, but they do not seem to be a sufficient explanation of it. Unless I greatly mistake, we may easily detect, in much of our literature, the unconscious substitution of some other standard of living for the Christian standard.

What this new rule of life is, it is not hard to tell. It is the artistic ideal; the æsthetical law. The increase of wealth, the enlargement of leisure, the inventions of luxury, have turned the thoughts of multitudes toward the realm of fine art. The old Puritan doctrine, that art is sinful, has been roundly repudiated,

as it ought to have been. Not only so, a kind of resentment has found expression against the Puritan standard, as having laid unjust and oppressive burdens on men, as having robbed them of pure and high enjoyments that belonged to them by right; and this, too, is natural and just. But revulsions of this sort are sure to become violent and excessive. If our modern votaries of beauty were content simply to reclaim for that divinity the rights of which she has been robbed, all would be well. Instead of that, they are pushing now to have her exalted to the throne of life; to elevate the standards of taste above the standards of morality; to put *æstheticism* in the place of Christianity. The modern cult of art is one symptom of this tendency. And while many are engaged in the study and the practice of art who do not permit their devotion to art to become their supreme devotion, there are still not a few who have submitted to its empire and practically confess no other allegiance.

Now the standards of *æstheticism* are purely selfish. What is beautiful? That which gratifies my taste. What is good art? That which pleases me. There is no other rule; the criterion of all art judgment is the individual's own pleasure. You cannot go behind that. *De gustibus non est disputandum* is the fundamental canon of art criticism. The man who substitutes the *æsthetical* rule for the Christian rule simply says, therefore, "I intend to live in such a way as to please myself." That is exactly what it comes to; and the hard fact cannot be disguised.

Selfishness sometimes takes the form of addiction to sensual pleasure, and sometimes the form of bondage to some constitutional desire, as the desire of wealth or power; but there are multitudes among us over whom it has thrown a different snare, who are devoting themselves to the gratification of their tastes, whose god is *æsthetic* pleasure. The kind of self-gratification to which they are addicted is more refined and less repulsive than that of the debauchee or the miser, and is all the more dangerous on this account. The silken fetters of *æstheticism* are grateful to the sense, but they hold the soul no less firmly than the golden chains of mammon or the iron manacles of lust. Many a cultured gentleman there is, whose heart is growing as hard as the tiles wherewith he decorates his hearth; many a delicate lady, whose own hands are busily embroidering the napkin wherein she will wrap for burial the talent God gave her for the service of her kind.

Here, again, no sweeping statements must be made. It is not true that all those who delight in beauty, and seek to fill their

homes and encompass their lives with loveliness, are hard and selfish: forth from many beautiful homes go the feet that are swift to run on errands of mercy; dwelling in the midst of everything that can charm the eye are many who keep their love of beauty always subordinate to their love of God and their fellow-men, whose lives are consecrated to Christian service. We must not overlook these; we must not forget to praise God for them. They are witnesses that there is no necessary conflict between the good and the beautiful. But we cannot fail to see that there are many others also with whom the gratification of the æsthetic nature has become the supreme concern, and who have become hardened and corrupted by this unworthy preference. For there is degradation in it, whoever follows it. The pleasing of the taste is not the end of life, and he who makes it the end misses the meaning of life, and loses all that is most precious.

This is true of a man, and it is equally true of a nation. I have spoken of the later Greek civilization as having beauty for its constructive idea; but from the time when this became true of Greece, the marks of decay began to be visible. The great days of Greece were days when the motives of patriotism and religion ruled in the hearts of the people. When the ethical gave place to the æsthetic, the dry rot began to invade the national life.

Moreover, the best art of Greece was the product of the days before art became supreme in the thoughts of the people. The heroic age of Greek sculptors, architects, poets, makers of all sorts, was the age of Pericles; and the art of that time was the servant of patriotism and religion. It was the consciousness of national unity and greatness, awakened in the breasts of the Greeks by the wars of liberation, that gave the impulse to Pericles and those who wrought with him. "A great national movement," says Curtius, "had seized upon the entire people; its result, the rout of the Persians, was a deed of that people; a state of free citizens had headed the movement; and this state had now attained to wealth and power, and these citizens possessed sufficient artistic sense to regard the erection of great works of art as a matter of the highest public importance."<sup>1</sup> It was not art that these Athenians were glorifying; it was their native land. The æsthetic motive was subservient to the patriotic motive. And not only to this, but also to that deeper sentiment which is never absent from the life of great nations. In a striking passage, Dr. Curtius makes this fact appear: "The art of the Periclean era had received

<sup>1</sup> *History of Greece*, ii. 552.

a very definite and religious mission; for the spirit of rationalism had everywhere shaken the popular faith, and a thoughtless life, devoid of any but the traditionary notions, was no longer possible. Philosophic thought had loudly and vehemently rebelled against the unthinking worship of idols. 'They pray to images,' said Heraclitus, 'as if a man were to hold converse with houses;' and the same philosopher had resigned, in favor of his brother, his hereditary priestly office. A dangerous rupture was at hand, unless the ancient faith were purified and elevated, after a fashion, in accordance with the age. In religion, too, room must be given to free thought, so as to satisfy the progress of human consciousness, and to reconcile the traditions of the past with the rationalism of the present. Mediators in this sense appeared in the persons of the great poets of Athens—in Æschylus, the firm believer in the religion of his fathers, and in the pious Sophocles; their sentiments were shared by Pericles, who, notwithstanding his philosophy, publicly, and in his own house, zealously offered sacrifices to the gods, and never entered upon any operation of importance without prayer. Phidias worked in the same spirit, by elevating religious sculpture, for which Attica had been distinguished from an early age, into a totally new sphere; and this is the side of his labors as an artist which obtained for him by far the highest glory among both contemporaries and posterity."<sup>1</sup>

Such were the impulses from which sprang the noblest art of Greece. It was by thinking of something greater than art that Phidias and Æschylus, and Sophocles became great artists. And it was just when the people began to make artistic culture the chief thing, that artistic power began to wane. Art must have some inspiration above itself; when it turns its look inward and begins to be absorbed in contemplating itself, its arm is palsied and its work is done. So the later days of Greece were not only days of political degeneracy, but of artistic inferiority: the grand work of Phidias was never repeated in the gay Hellenic capitals.

In all the ages since, the best work has been done in all the arts by men who fed their strength at the highest sources. Love of country, love of humanity, love of truth, love of God—these may furnish inspiration for great art; the soul that is thrilled by such passions may lift the glorious arches, or shape the majestic statue, or sing the undying song; but simple love of art never made a great artist,—no, and never will, any more than love of rhetoric will make an orator or love of dress a gentleman. The

<sup>1</sup> *History of Greece*, ii. 573.

moment æstheticism begins to reign, the days of art are numbered. You may have marvelous technique, but you will have no ideas; you may be able to express anything, only you will have nothing to express.

"You may say," says President White, of Cornell, in that stirring speech of his on "The Mission of the Nineteenth Century to the Twentieth," one of the notable utterances of this time, "that the feeling for art has been spreading and developing of late in a new direction. By all that, you perhaps mean the mania of the æsthetes — boudoir pictures with Meissonier as their chief deity; an art of mere fashion and whims; one year chamfered corners with decorations in crude red and black; another year rounded corners with decorations in peacock blue; one year a muddle of gold-leaf and green called an 'arrangement;' another year a muddle of silver-leaf and yellow called a 'symphony;' one year what is called Gothic, another year what is called Queen Anne, — all of which will probably ten years hence furnish the most woe-ful thing to look back upon in the history of art. The question in all this is simply, where is the virile art which commemorates great deeds, which stirs the hearts of men, which aids to make a nation something more than a shop, and its civilization really come to something in the sum of things?"

President White finds the cause of the decadence of art in the "mercantilism" which is absorbing the energies of our people, and this probably is the true explanation. But æstheticism is the philosophy of life which mercantilism always adopts. The æsthetic is the perfect flower of a plutocracy. It is curious to find Mr. Oscar Wilde railing, in mellifluous verse, against mammon-worship: it is as if a delicate-tinted toadstool should turn and rail at the compost heap on which it grows. We are really indebted to the individual just named for rendering, all unwittingly, some service to good morals in his late visit to this country. Certain classes of persons may be relied on, the proverb says, to tell the truth; and this young person, with a frankness which is due either to immaturity or to natural fatuity, contrived to blurt out quite a number of confessions which exactly convey to us the philosophy of life on which æstheticism is founded. "We spend our days," he says, "each one of us, in looking for the secret of life. Well, the secret of life is in art." "Love art for its own sake, and then all things that you need will be added unto you. This devotion to beauty and to the creation of beautiful things is the test of all great civilizations: it is what makes the life of each citizen a sac-



rament, and not a speculation. It is not an increased moral sense or moral supervision that your literature needs. Indeed, one should never talk of a moral or immoral poem. Poems are either well-written or badly written, that is all."

Such is the philosophy of æstheticism, neatly and concisely stated. Truth, purity, honor, faith, patriotism — these are secondary matters; beauty is the only object of worship; art is the supreme pursuit; æsthetical pleasure is the paramount concern. Mr. Wilde only puts into plain English a doctrine which is more guardedly expressed in much of the current poetry and criticism, a doctrine which his master, Rossetti, everywhere suggests. It is the creed by which a great many persons who never saw Wilde or heard of Rossetti are unconsciously shaping their lives. Out of such a philosophy can spring no great art, no high character, no grand civilization; it can give birth to nothing but a pretty, petty, puny dilettanteism, weak in the sinews, light in the head, rotten at the heart.

It is evident that the two kingdoms of Christianity and æstheticism are now in many quarters contending for the mastery. "We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves," says Paul, the apostle. Seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all good things shall be added unto you, says Paul's master. This is the clear statement of the Christian law of life. The modern Paganism lays down its law also: "Love art for art's sake, and all things that you need will be added unto you." The very words of Christ's law are travestied, and art is put in the place of righteousness as the supreme end of life. Could blasphemy further go? But it is well that the truth should be told, no matter who tells it. All men can then perceive that these two are rival kingdoms, and that each makes exclusive claims; that no man can make the one supreme without rejecting the supremacy of the other. To be a Christian disciple, it is not necessary that one should abjure the pleasures of refined taste, but it is necessary that he should make these pleasures subordinate and tributary to the service of God and men. The love of beauty is not denied to the Christian, but the love of righteousness and of humanity is with him the master passion. And the question, which one of these loves is supreme, is no trivial question; it goes to the roots of character. It will make a mighty difference with multitudes of men and women in our polite society which one of these ideals they consciously set before themselves. And every minister of the gospel who stands

before the cultivated and luxurious congregations of our great cities is bound to be faithful in his testimony against this æsthetic Paganism, whose gods are set up in so many of the homes of his people, and whose degrading worship threatens the life of the church and the nation. To revert to æstheticism, after having known the Christian way, would be a fearful loss. These neighbors of ours might have been good Pagans if they had lived in the days of Socrates ; but he who has seen the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ, to whom the King in his beauty has appeared, can never go back to Pagan patterns without crippling and corrupting his soul.

" We needs must love the highest when we see it,  
Not Lancelot, nor another."

The rejection of the good which it knows to be the highest is the soul's prerogative, and the most terrible of tragedies.

*Washington Gladden.*

#### THE NORRIS GIFTS TO THE ASSOCIATE FOUNDATION IN ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

RECENT discussion has revived, in a measure, the interest taken many years ago in that portion of the funds of Phillips Andover Academy which may be appropriately styled The Norris Fund. By this is meant the donation of \$10,000, made in 1808 by John Norris, of Salem, to the fund of the "Associate Foundation," whereby he became one of the three Associate Founders ; together with the legacy of \$30,000 left by Mrs. Norris, in 1811, in aid of the same Foundation. The other two Associate Founders, each so constituted by a gift of \$10,000, were William Bartlet and Moses Brown, of Newburyport. Thus this Foundation originally consisted of \$30,000, to which Mr. Bartlet soon added \$10,000. Of the donations of Messrs. Bartlet and Brown, whether the first or those of later date, it is unnecessary, for our present purpose, to write particularly. The indebtedness of the Seminary to these donors was sufficiently commemorated at its Fiftieth Anniversary, and no fresh occasion has since arisen to reiterate the tribute then paid to their memory.

The case is somewhat different in respect to Mr. and Mrs. Norris and their generous endowment. Let it not be inferred, how-

ever, that, on the occasion referred to, these benefactors failed to receive the tribute of grateful mention which was their due. So far from this, special efforts were put forth to collect the information which tradition had preserved relating to the excellence of their Christian character, and to the motives which prompted the consecration of so large a portion of their property to this one favored object. But, since that time, records have been brought to light which add much to what was previously known of Mrs. Norris, to whom, no less than to her husband, belongs the credit of what they jointly did for the cause of Christ. These records are in the form of a journal, kept daily by her own hand and for her own private use, and covering the entire year which immediately preceded her death, the last entry being made only eighteen days before that event. They thus reveal the interior life of this devout woman; they place the reader in the very centre of the scenes in which she constantly mingled; they introduce him to the society which habitually frequented her Christian home and enjoyed her generous hospitality. They even lay before him the thanksgivings, the confessions, the supplications, with which she closed each day, and the renewed consecration of herself, her time, her possessions, and all that was hers to the service of her God and Saviour, before resigning herself to sleep. They show, beyond a question, how constantly and unreservedly this humble disciple stayed herself on God, how faithfully she endeavored to serve Him, how earnestly she prayed to be his honored instrument of blessing to all immediately about her, and to all, whether far or near, to whom, by a wise use of her property, she might be a messenger of salvation through Christ. They leave on the mind of the reader an impression, painfully deep, of her views of the heinousness of sin against a holy God, and of the utterly hopeless condition of the individual sinner and of a fallen race, without the glad tidings of the gospel. So profound was her own sense of unworthiness as to deprive her of much of the peace and joy which belong to the Christian hope, and to cause her to forego communion with Christ at his table. She was accustomed to witness with sincere pleasure the administration of the Supper and the happiness of her fellow-believers in partaking of the sacramental emblems; but not for once did she venture to pick up a fallen crumb, or place to her lips the consecrated cup. There is something extremely sad and pathetic in this attitude of hers respecting a public profession of faith in Christ. It seems to have been maintained, not because of any real doubt of the genuineness of her faith and trust and

hope, — a hope which she prized as dearly as did her husband, who declared, "I would not relinquish a hope that I am a child of God for a thousand worlds," — nor yet because of any reluctance to be numbered among Christ's avowed followers, but simply, as it appears, because a profound conviction of unworthiness and an unconquerable fear of self-deception triumphed over her conviction of immediate duty, and caused her to defer the decisive step in the hope of finding clearer light. In common with many of that day, and not a few of this, she walked far too often beneath the shadows of Sinai, far too seldom amid the radiance of Calvary. She could *believe* herself delivered from the bondage of the law, but she could not *realize* the full blessedness of the freedom wherewith Christ makes free. Yet her distrust of her own religious experiences and good estate caused not a single wavering of her faith in the completeness of our Lord's redemptive work, or in the imperative duty of his Church to send the glad tidings of salvation to all the earth.

As a condition precedent to the establishment of missions to the heathen, Mrs. Norris looked with great favor upon the suggestion when first made, as early as 1806, that a seminary should be established for the preparation of young men for the ministry, with special reference to the missionary work. It was her memorable saying, "The missionary work and the Seminary are the same," that influenced her husband to double the amount he had first intended to give to the Seminary. His own heart was already enlisted in the germinating cause of missions, and his resolution to contribute liberally to this cause had already been formed. But his work on earth ended before the formation of the American Board, and the duty of executing his benevolent purpose devolved upon his widow, — a duty which she contemplated only in the light of privilege. The intensity of her interest in this cause is vividly illustrated by the well-attested fact that, when a committee to devise ways and means for the support of the first missionaries was in session at her house in Salem, she called out Mr. Bartlet, and said to him, "I perceive that you are in trouble for money. Now, if you will give \$30,000, I will. The committee was at the time deliberating on the possibility of raising \$60,000 for the purpose proposed. The plan failed; but the \$60,000 were subsequently given by Mrs. Norris alone for the two objects which she regarded as one, Missions and the Seminary. From the time of her husband's death, her one unfaltering purpose was to make her property subserve the cause of Christ by the providing of her-

alds of salvation, and the sending of them forth on their mission of love. Thenceforth this was her single aim; this was the consummation of her hopes, her prayers, her public benefactions.

It is much to be regretted that the making of her will was so long delayed. This delay came perilously near to defeating her most fondly cherished plans. It greatly imperiled the validity of her will. It involved much expensive litigation, and deprived both the Seminary and the Board of the use of their legacies for four or more years. The fact, that less than three hours intervened between the signing of the will and the death of the testatrix, afforded the heirs at law a strong hope of success in an attempt to break it — a much stronger hope than could have been cherished had the instrument been made while Mrs. Norris was in health and, beyond dispute, “of sound and disposing mind.” Accordingly, her heirs resolved to defeat the object of the will at all hazards. To their view the mere fact of giving such a sum of money for purposes so chimerical and foolish was evidence sufficient to prove imbecility of mind, subjection to undue influences from without, and absolute insanity. Sooner than have their sister’s property used to disseminate evangelical religion, they would gladly see it reduced to ashes, but far more gladly would they have it added to the generous portions bequeathed to them.

The case was intrusted to the ablest counsel of the day, to be pursued to the end, however bitter it might prove to be. With what spirit and resolution these counselors executed their commission is sufficiently evident from a remark of Hon. Samuel Dexter to Rev. Dr. Worcester, “Well, Doctor, I am determined to kill this will!” to which remark, it may not be amiss to add, the Doctor retorted, “I have no doubt, Sir, of your *murderous intentions*.” Nevertheless, the will was approved by the Probate Court, and a similar result followed the appeal which was taken to the Supreme Court.

One point made by the counsel and confidently relied on to defeat the will was found in the extremely short interval between the dictation and the execution of the instrument. But this endeavor was frustrated by a circumstance conclusively proved, namely, that, after completing the dictation, and before consenting to add her signature, Mrs. Norris asked to have the document read to her, in order to assure herself that every item was in accordance with her intentions. When the gift to the Seminary was reached she informed the scrivener that the legacy was not designed for the Andover Seminary but for the “Associate Foun-

dation" of the same; and she required a corresponding alteration to be made in the form of the bequest. But for this opportune correction, the legacy might have been lost to the Associate Foundation, and thus its purpose have been defeated; and but for the necessity of making it, no other equally conclusive evidence of the perfect sanity of the testatrix might have been found. But the purpose of God, that shall stand; and it evidently was his purpose that this will should stand, and, consequently, that all devices formed against it should be brought to naught. As we proceed, another and yet stronger illustration of this truth, as related to this document, will present itself.

In all ordinary cases, a will which had fought its way through both courts would be deemed safe against further assaults. In this case, however, the prize to be won was too great, and the defeat of the object of the legacies too important — at least in the estimation of the opponents of the will — to retire from the field of conflict without one more attempt, desperate though it might be, to accomplish their "murderous" purpose. Accordingly, they fell back on the policy of delay. By counseling the executor to resort to this artifice they hoped to save time to mature their plans, and to weary the parties whose title to the legacies had now been established. This master-piece of strategy was adopted and maintained with masterly inaction.

Meantime, the Trustees of Phillips Academy and the designated trustees of the legacy to the A. B. C. F. M. — which was as yet without a charter — were considering the next step to be taken, on their part, to bring to an end this vexatious delay. When patient waiting had ceased to be a virtue, they determined, by advice of counsel, to take the offensive, and bring action for debt against the executor, in order thus to compel payment. The opponents of the will, being thus unexpectedly placed on the defensive, were doubtless sorely tried to determine what defense could be set up which could afford the slightest hope of success. There remained just one possible position hitherto untried. On this they resolved to take their stand, and abide the issue. The legacy to the Academy being exclusively for the benefit of the Associate Foundation, the astute counsel for the defense determined to pose as profound theologians, and attempt to prove that the Creed under which this fund was to be administered was in conflict with the theology of the original Foundation, and consequently that the legacy was void. What success rewarded their desperate exertions will presently appear.



The case had now assumed a form of intense interest to the public. Both parties in the contest were represented by the ablest counsel to be procured. Both seem to have realized that everything depended on the result of these trials; that sink or swim was the only alternative.

The cause of Phillips Academy was argued at the November term of the Supreme Court, 1814, by Dane and Prescott for the plaintiffs, and by Dexter and Merrill for the defendant. The action being continued *nisi* for advisement, the opinion of the Court was delivered at the following March term in Suffolk, by Justice Thatcher.

The Court having enounced the broad principle of law on which its decision rests, namely, "A liberal construction will be given by the Court to bequests for the support of Christianity; and objections drawn from technical theology will have little weight, when urged in avoidance of such bequests;" and having made certain statements explanatory of the case in hand, proceeded as follows:—

"Another objection was urged upon us, 'That the legacy is void, because the trustees of Phillips Academy, by the act of June, 1807, were made capable only to hold property for the support of a theological institution, agreeably to the will of the donors, if consistent with the original design of the founders of the Academy. And the original design of the founders of the Academy was to propagate *Calvinism*, as containing the important principles and distinguishing tenets of our holy Christian religion, as summarily expressed in the *Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism*; whereas, the design of the donors of the Associate Foundation is, to add to *Calvinism* the distinguishing principles of *Hopkinsianism*, a union or mixture inconsistent with the original design of the original founders of the Academy and of the theological institution.'"

"This objection appears to me to be founded on a mistaken view of the original design of the founders of this Academy; which, as far as it can be collected from the case agreed, appears to have been to teach youth the great end and real business of living; to convince them that goodness and knowledge must be united to form the most perfect character in human life; that vice, in the most comprehensive sense, ought to be hated and avoided; and virtue, in an equally extensive sense, ought to be loved and practiced; to cultivate, establish, and perpetuate in the Christian church,

the true and fundamental principles of the Christian religion, as far as that institution might have influence, by an early inculcation of those principles on the minds of the pupils." . . . "The name of *Calvin* or *Calvinism*, as the end and object of the institution, is not mentioned. The objection, therefore, avails nothing against the legacy in question.

"The objection seems to have confounded the benefactors to the Academy, on whose bounty the theological institution or seminary is established, with the original founders of the Academy. For, although it is true that Mr. John Phillips was one of the founders of the Academy, we must, in this instance, distinguish between him as a founder and as an after-donor or benefactor. In his will he directs the donation therein given to the trustees of this Academy to be appropriated to the support of such charity scholars as might be designed for the gospel ministry, and, having received the first part of their education at the Academy, and before a theological professor, should be instituted in this or in the Exeter Academy, as was expected in some future time, they might be assisted in *their theological studies under the direction of some eminent Calvinistic minister of the Gospel*, until such time as an able, pious, orthodox instructor should be supported in one or the other of those academies, as a Professor of Divinity, by whom they might be taught *the important principles and distinguishing tenets of our holy Christian religion*.

"It deserves notice, and is evidential of the *good sense* and vital Christianity of this holy man, that, although this instruction was to be from some eminent *Calvinistic* minister, until an *Orthodox instructor* (that is, one who should teach, explain and inculcate the important principles and distinguishing tenets of the religion of JESUS, as it had been delivered to the Saints), should be instituted; yet he is to teach nothing but *our holy Christian religion*. He was not to teach Calvinism.

"If it be objected that Calvinism and Christianity are identically the same, then it seems to me that the principle of the objection would be to give the preference to *Calvin* over JESUS as a religious instructor, and to rob the latter of some honor and glory, which I have ever considered as belonging to him over all his followers and other teachers."

"I should not have thought it necessary to take any further notice of this objection, were it not that the counsel for the defendant brought forward in the argument, and urged upon the

consideration of the Court with great force, several specific propositions or articles of two opposing creeds, or which, the counsel contended, were directly contrary to each other; insisting that the intent of the founders was to maintain *Calvinism*, or the theology of *Calvin*; and if there were but one single article or proposition in the creed of the associate founders contrary to *Calvinism*, the trustees of the Academy would have no right to take and appropriate the legacy in question; and should the creed imposed by the associate founders omit a single article contained in the creed of *Calvin*, or as *Calvinism* was understood at the time of the foundation of the Academy, it would be such a departure from the *intent, design and plan* of the original founders, that it must intercept the intended legacy, and prevent any right from vesting in the plaintiffs. It was then stated to be an essential article in the creed of *Calvin*, and what all Calvinists must necessarily believe, to make them Christians according to the Calvinistic theology, 'that the original sin of *Adam* is imputed to all his posterity, in some way or manner that they are all and every one actual sinners.' Whereas, the associate foundation did not admit this article in the creed taught in their branch of the theological school, but substituted the following article in lieu thereof, and made it a necessary part of the religious creed to the professors, and to be by them taught to the students in the institution, namely: '*Adam*, the federal head and representative of the human race, was placed in a state of probation, and in consequence of his disobedience, all his descendants were *constituted sinners*;' which latter article, it was urged, is not only an article of a system of religion called *Hopkinsianism*, but it is so inconsistent with, and contrary to, the system of *Calvinism* in general, and particularly to the foregoing article of the creed of *Calvin*, or of a Calvinistic Christian, as taught in the *Assembly's Shorter Catechism*, as could not be taught in consistency and harmony with the design, views, and intentions of the original founders of the Academy; and thus the legacy being given to promote *Hopkinsianism* in opposition to *Calvinism*, as explained in the said catechism, is void, and ought not, or rather cannot, be recovered by the plaintiffs, who, as trustees of the Academy, cannot take any donation or bequest contrary to the intent of the founders."

"To this objection, thus drawn out and explained nearly in the words of the eloquent argument, it is enough to reply, There is a clear, intelligible meaning, consistent with the whole course of the providential government of GOD over the natural and moral

world by general laws, so far as the subject has been investigated, which may be applied to the two articles attempted to be contrasted, with no greater latitude in the use of language, than is frequently applied by *orthodox divines* to words and phrases in the *Bible*, not always to be taken literally; in which sense these propositions or articles will mean the same thing. And in such sense, they are consistent with the revelations contained in the *Bible*; which revelations make up the fundamental principles of the religion of JESUS. Hence, there is no necessity of conjecturing a variety of meanings which the words may possibly be susceptible of in minds more habituated to dwell on the theories of certain divines, than on the religion of JESUS, as delivered by himself and those who were authorized by GOD the Father to preach it. And I hesitate not to say, that, in all cases like this, we ought to be satisfied, whenever we can reconcile the language of honest Christians, by yielding to them that charity of construction which it is allowed by all that we should apply to the Holy Scriptures.

"For myself, I confess that I do not clearly perceive any other sense, than that in which the two articles mean substantially the same thing, notwithstanding some diversity of expression, in which they can be said to be true, and consistent with the Christian religion. And knowing, as we all do, the founders, as well as the after-benefactors who have set up the Associate Foundation, to be persons of great piety and most sincere believers in the religion of JESUS; and that the first and principal object with all of them has been to establish, teach, and enforce the belief and practice of that religion on the students of the institution, and, through them, on the whole world of mankind, why should we be now called upon to apply an *astute, narrow, and uncharitable* construction upon a few technical propositions, merely to divert the legacy of a pious woman from an object dearer to her than life itself? And let me add, in this case the object is great and noble beyond almost anything in our country."

"It is the opinion of the Court that judgment must be rendered on the verdict."

Nothing could be more conclusive than this decision and the arguments by which it was supported; no discomfiture could be more complete than that of the defendants in this case. In the light of this decision, can be seen, most clearly and impressively, the wisdom of Divine Providence in permitting this attempt to rob the treasury of the Lord to be made; for thereby opportunity

was afforded for a final settlement, under the ægis of law, of the question, whether "technical theology" could be allowed precedence over the broad and fundamental principles of "our holy religion;" whether any human name could be permitted to supplant the name of JESUS. Here, the issue was squarely made, and a righteous decision irreversibly rendered. In no other way, unless by subsequent abuse of trust, could the same question have come before the same tribunal. In forcing this issue, the defendants meant only evil, but God meant it for good; for no weapon formed against the Almighty can prosper; He can cause even the wrath of man to praise Him. As the matter now stands, the funds of this Seminary can be disturbed in the promotion of their "great and noble object," only on conclusive evidence of having been employed for the dissemination of heresies distinctly forbidden, and in violation of the fundamental principles of the religion of Christ. Praise be to the Great Head of the Church for thus gladdening the hearts of his people when disquieted within them by the machinations of his foes; praise be to Him, that, only by their own infidelity to his teachings and service, can his cause, as related to this creed, be again placed in peril.

In the light of this judicial decision, and in view of the statements previously made relative to Mrs. Norris, the reader cannot fail to discern and admire the interposition of Providence in behalf of an humble handmaid of the Lord, maintaining her cause against all the devices of her adversaries, and giving answers of peace to the many prayers she had recorded for a Divine blessing to follow her gift. What clearer proof could be afforded that her offerings were accepted on high; that, dying in the Lord, and now resting from her earthly labors, her works had followed her, and were thenceforth sure to be jealously guarded for the accomplishment of the noble object of the giver. Moreover, by this decision, our thoughts are led directly back to the consultation between Mr. and Mrs. Norris which resulted in the creation of the fund which we have designated by their name; and all room for doubt is removed, respecting the correctness of the position already taken, that *their* purpose in creating this fund was, simply and solely, the furtherance of the gospel.

This position was taken because the direct evidence of the donors admitted of no other; because no other would be in accord with the fundamental object of the Seminary and the Board; and, yet again, because, from the beginning to this day, the Seminary has been administered, strictly, and with unwavering fidelity,

for the promotion of this end. This has been the common aim of trustees and visitors, of officers and students. No man living can deny this fact. No man dare impeach the motives or official fidelity of those to whom, in successive periods, has been committed the charge of this world-renowned institution. No man dare assail the religious standing of those who have sent forth, from its hallowed walls, successive generations of students, thoroughly furnished for their high vocation as ambassadors for Christ. In view of this judicial decision, which has so long lain buried in comparative obscurity, no man would presume to affirm, that, in giving relative prominence to the broad principles of the gospel, and in holding in relative abeyance what appertains, chiefly, or even solely, to "technical theology," the teachers in this Seminary have, in any way, come short of duty or violated the bond under which they have executed their solemn trust. On the contrary, all men of broad views and liberal spirit will heartily rejoice in the fresh evidence now presented, that these faithful teachers have, in so doing, been simply following the lead of our highest judicial tribunal, while, at the same time, they have done only that which inclination prompted and conscience demanded; only that which was "according to the best light God" had given them.

That would be an extremely "astute and narrow" view of the obligation of these teachers which should claim that singleness of aim necessarily involved uniformity of exegetical or philosophical opinion; that identity of creed precluded diversity of interpretation. A view so narrow would also preclude all independence of thought and all increasing light. It would impose utter suberviency to the dogmas of the past, and reduce instruction to the level of machine work. Has the opinion ever been avowed in this Seminary, or in any similar institution, that diversity of speculative opinion, and progress in methods of interpretation, were inconsistent with unity in system of belief? Has it ever been maintained, for example, that an equally unreserved acceptance of the doctrine of inspiration could not be predicated of those who accept and those who deny an inspiration which is only verbal? Can it be affirmed that he who cordially accepts the statement, that "the Son of God, by his sufferings and death, has made atonement for the sins of all men," thereby binds himself to a particular theory of the atonement? Has it not been always conceded, that, within the specified limitations of his system of belief, the teacher of that system might walk at liberty, and that only thus was a progressive orthodoxy possible? The creed of the Seminary is universally



recognized as a compromise between divergent views, effected after long delays, and with extreme caution, in order that non-essential phases of belief might be excluded, while everything essential to evangelical religion was retained; effected, in order that the two parties to the compromise might stand on common ground, and work harmoniously for a common cause. Surely, the men who, with greatest pains, prepared this document were not the men to sacrifice the essentials of religion in any particular; neither were they men who were incapable of discovering at what point concession ceased to be a virtue. And here let it be distinctly observed, that, in thus elaborating and guarding this creed, its authors were doing precisely that which the Associate Founders of the Seminary would have them do; they were anticipating, and precluding, so far as was in their power, all subsequent controversy which was liable to arise, alike in theological circles and before judicial tribunals; they were making plain paths for all who should follow their lead; they were removing stumbling-blocks from before the feet of trustees and professors; they were rendering possible that harmonious and brilliant career of usefulness which, for seventy-five years, has been the glory of this Institution, alike in our own land and the wide world over. And, in this connection, it should also be observed, that, but for this far-sighted compromise of conflicting views; but for this wise surrender of personal preferences, and non-essential differences of opinion, the shrewd tactics of the lawyers might have given them the victory in the contest which has just passed in review; something far from non-essential divergences might have been successfully maintained; the design of the pious donors of the funds might have been defeated; and the period of its infancy might have bounded the life of the Institution.

For, had the denial of the right of the Trustees to accept the legacy not been overruled by the Court, that denial, resting, as it did, solely on differences in technical theology, would have applied with equal force to all the funds of the Associate Foundation, and would have debarred the Seminary from all assistance from that source. The consequence would have been that the heirs at law of Mr. Norris could have recovered the \$10,000 which he contributed to those funds; and Mr. Bartlet and Mr. Brown would have been compelled to withdraw their donations, and devote them, according to their original purpose, to the establishment of a theological seminary at Newburyport, or to abandon the benevolent object for which those funds had been set apart. This can be confidently

affirmed, because those who framed the Creed under which these funds were given to the Associate Foundation at Andover had gone to their utmost limit of concession to the Calvinistic party; and, as the attempted union of interest between the two parties to the compromises of the Creed had now been virtually annulled by judicial decision, no alternative remained to either party except a final separation of interests, and the maintenance of two independent schools of theology. Whether two schools — *one*, in aim and in all essentials of faith; *two*, only in respect to a few differences of opinion on points relatively unimportant — could long have maintained a separate existence, is, to say the least, extremely doubtful; but, whether either of the two could have had anything more than a *name* to live, scarcely admits of a question. It would seem, then, that when the lawyers determined to “kill that will,” they aimed an equally deadly blow at the Associate Foundation of the Seminary, and at the very life of the Institution.

Obviously, therefore, an overruling Providence, which sees the end from the beginning, presided over all the deliberations alike of the donors to the funds, and of their spiritual advisers. It warned them to guard equally well every avenue of approach for theological opponents and for adversaries before the law; to make equally sure the safety of the funds here held, and the purity of the faith here to be inculcated. And the reader will not fail to admire, in this connection, the harmonious coöperation of the Founders, the Associate Founders, and the spiritual advisers of both. The Associate Founders laid no claim to ability to frame a creed for this Institution; they had not even placed themselves under any church creed or covenant; but so completely did they confide in their pastors and religious teachers, that, without hesitation or reserve, they could and did commit to them the work for which they recognized their own incapacity. Themselves were ready with their liberal offerings for the treasury of the Lord, but others, wiser than they, must guard those offerings against misappropriation or perversion. Hence the necessity of a distinct enunciation of the limits within which those gifts could be appropriately employed, and an equally specific delineation of the boundaries which they could not lawfully cross.

With a history replete with evidences of good accomplished; radiant with tokens of the Divine favor; rich in present possession of greatly augmented means of usefulness, can there be a reasonable doubt that far greater achievements for the cause of Christ await this Institution in the years to come, than have illu-

minated its path hitherto? Is not its aim the same now as before? Is it not equally true to the faith once delivered to the saints? — equally faithful to the purpose of the Founders? — equally devoted to Christ and his cause? Does not the same object animate its present guardians and teachers as inspired those of former times, — to send forth heralds of salvation to all the world? Whenever, on fitting occasions, that tender "Parting Hymn," so often heard within this Seminary, is sung anew by consecrated lips, and with the overflowings of young and ardent souls, —

"The voice of my departed Lord,  
'Go, teach all nations,'  
Comes on the night air  
And awakes mine ear,"

does not the same thrill of interest pervade student and listener now as before, gladdening, animating, and inspiring every responsive heart? Nay, rather, does not the memory of successes already achieved for Christ, by his many youthful disciples who have here responded to his call, greatly enhance the interest of every similar occasion whenever it recurs, and call forth an intenser thrill of joy? And is there not, now as aforetime, joy among the Angels of God also, at every announcement amid their ranks, of souls redeemed and sins forgiven? — of new trophies laid at Immanuel's feet? — of fresh evidences that the prayers offered when the very foundations of this Seminary were laid are daily receiving new answers in the salvation of multitudes? And shall not like occasions for thanksgiving and praise be repeated, until every knee shall bow to Christ, and every tongue confess that He is Lord, to the glory of God the Father?

*George B. Jewett.*

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### A BIBLE STUDY — THE UNJUST STEWARD.

THE parable of the Unjust Steward has often been treated harshly, and so has been slow to tell the best thing that it has to say. It has been puzzled over as a kind of divine enigma, and meanings have been wrung from it. Truth is better coaxed than coerced. The way to read a parable is the way we read a picture, which is a parable on canvas. There does not need to be too much trying to see what a picture means: nor a parable; both are, in this particular, like coy children that begin to grow talka-

tive when you let them alone. When our eye is allowed to play upon a picture that has been artistically wrought, it will gravitate, generally, with a good deal of ease, if allowed to, to the point where the artist's interest centres, and around which other lines and figures have been introduced by him, as accessories to the main effect.

Another fault in our way of treating these pictures, these word pictures, is that we overwork them, think into them more meaning than it ever lay in our Lord's mind to express by them. We see more between the lines than there is space between the lines to hold. We must be satisfied to find in a parable a little truth scattered over considerable ground. Parables will be better treated telescopically than microscopically. This parable of the unjust steward has been shaken through too much fine sieve.

The meaning of the parable is gathered up and applied in one verse: "*Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, that when ye fail they may receive you into everlasting habitations.*" We shall spend only enough time on the parable to get at that meaning. A certain rich man put the administering of his estate in the hands of an agent. After occupying the position for a season, his master, for reasons that we need not stop to state, gave him notice that after a certain time his services would not be wanted. The agent had laid up nothing, was not equal to manual labor, and too proud to beg. The question that pressed upon him was, — who was going to take care of him after he had served out his notice. After considering and then dismissing one expedient after another, it occurs to him that he will compound with his employer's debtors, — in that way take a mortgage on their affection, to be paid off in terms of bread and shelter after his wages have stopped. The dishonesty of the transaction is apparent enough: but that, let it be remarked, is only an accident of the case, a mere accessory stroke. He accordingly calls his master's debtors to him, one after another, remits in part the obligation of each, and, while opportunity serves, plucks from present circumstance down sufficient to feather the nest upon a higher branch. The man who owed a hundred measures of oil was permitted to make out a new due-bill for fifty. The debtor who owed a hundred measures of wheat was allowed to substitute a bond for eighty; and so on around; that when he was put out of the stewardship they might, at the instance of gratitude, receive him into their houses. He made sure of a pleasant home by and by, by converting into friendships the resources of the instant.

If now we will make one or two substitutions in our verse in accord with the reading of the new revision, the meaning of the verse and the purport of the parable will become easily and pleasantly intelligible. The text says, "Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness." "The mammon of unrighteousness" is a way of saying "the unrighteous mammon." Mammon is here the personification of earthly wealth, and called "unrighteous" because it is so apt to be unrighteous, both in the manner of its acquisition and in that of its expenditure. The preposition of — ("make to yourselves friends *of* the mammon of unrighteousness") — is in the new revision replaced by the expression "by means of." So that the first clause of the text has now been corrected and simplified to read, "Make to yourselves friends by means of your earthly possession." In the second clause a single change is shown, in the new revision, to be necessary, — "That when *ye* fail," — so it stands in our Bibles: that when *it* fails (that is, when the earthly possession fails) is the revised reading. So that in its altered form and dress our whole verse runs in this way: "Make to yourselves friends by means of your earthly wealth, that when it fails they (the friends you have made by means of it when you had it) may receive you into everlasting habitations." The man in our story used his resources while he had them to increase the number of those that loved him, that when his resources were gone there might be those who in hospitality and affection would welcome him to their homes. Now the Lord, in our verse, applies the lesson to his hearers, and says to them in substance, Do you in the same way make to yourselves friends by means of your resources, that when your resources by and by slip out of your hands, you too may have friends away yonder who shall give you a glad and loving welcome, not to temporary residences, as in the case of the steward, but to the mansions and the home that shall be everlasting.

Out of the verse as thus phrased, three or four lessons offer themselves.

The first lesson has reference to the convertible quality of earthly values. Property of one value was by our agent converted into property of another value, a greater value, and, what is important to notice, a higher grade of value. As a matter of practical result, the oil and wheat at his disposal were by him converted into, — not more oil and wheat, but into affection and hospitality. Somewhat of the same purpose inheres in all trade. Property in hand is not treated generally as a finality. No man has ten thou-

sand dollars invested, or indeed one thousand, who does not keep an eye pretty steadily open to the possibility of doing better with it. That is the animus of trade. That is what we mean by watching the market. Trade is not an exchange of equivalents. There is no such thing as barter pure and simple. When we lay down one value we do it with the purpose of taking up a larger value in its stead. We succeed in our purpose and "make"; our purpose miscarries and we "lose." The farmer puts one bushel of seed into the ground and in the fall gathers sixty bushels in its stead. That is trade, in a sense; only nature, and not the ordinary run of grain dealer, is the other factor in the transaction. Now the peculiarity of all this grade of transaction is this, that it looks to a return in kind. You plant corn to get corn, only more of it. On the street you take money which is in one kind of stock and put it into different stock: but money is the aim of the transaction, only more of it. It is still a return in kind. The transaction is legitimate, or may be: the point of the illustration is that your object in the transaction is to get out the same kind of thing that you put in, only in greater abundance. It is the same thing that our agent would have done if he had taken that fifty gallons of oil in the first instance, and, instead of converting it into affection and hospitality, had put it into the oil trade, with the intent of gaining more of the same commodity in the issue.

Now there is another sort of transaction in which men engage which has its financial aspect, and yet which is a shade off from those just referred to, — in fact several shades off. You take a thousand dollars, if you have it to spare, and put it into a work of art, a painting, for instance, not as an article of merchandise (you are not supposed to be in the picture-trade); but you purchase it as an adornment to your house, and it becomes a bright thing there. You hang it upon the wall, and your eye and heart feed upon it. And after you have had it awhile some one makes you an offer for it, double perhaps what you paid for it, and you say, "No; that picture isn't in the market." Now that is really a great thing. It means that the man, however mercenary he may be reputed to be, nevertheless has something whose value, even in his own estimation, is not readable in terms of dollars and cents. Now that is more like our agent in the story, who, while he used the purchasing power of his oil as a means of obtaining something better, would never have allowed that better thing to be converted back into oil again. The value of his friendship was not with him readable in terms of oil, wheat, or other staple. He had gotten



up into worth of another grade, values of a higher scale. So we may have other treasures, such as books, articles of vertu, or a house, or rather a home, for that is part of the difference between a house and a home. One might be willing to sell his house, but the home, though money may have obtained it, he nevertheless would not convert willingly back into money; its value is not computable in terms of pounds, shillings, and pence.

And that is our lesson just at this point, that values lower and higher are ranged like the steps of a stairway, each step being placed to conduct to the one superior; so that each grade of value is in its best sense worth what it will buy out of the grade next above; that the value of money thus is not in the money *eo ipso*, but in the purchasing power of the money. That is a lesson that a good many men are not learning, that the best significance of a dollar is what the dollar will do; that what the oil will purchase is worth more than the oil. A man of large property died in New York awhile ago, who, late in life, made one or two munificent benefactions, but said before he died that he wished he had commenced to give earlier. He learned late, but he learned one of the best lessons of life, that a dollar carefully spent denotes more than a dollar scrupulously kept; that the best thing about lower values is their convertibility into higher values; and that with the man, as with the reservoir, distribution, as well as accumulation, is conditional to his being either a thing of beauty in himself or a well-spring of gladness to his times.

The second lesson has reference to the fact that the time comes, with every man, sooner or later, when these lower values cease to signify, and when, unless they have previously been converted into higher values of an indestructible kind, one is left stranded in a condition of utter and irremediable pauperism. That time, that crisis, of course, is the moment of his death. The agent in our story had his crisis, of a different kind, to be sure, but nevertheless intended by our Lord to be typical of death, and the agent anticipated his crisis; he got his resources into such shape that they could survive the crisis. The oil and the wheat he could not carry with him out of his stewardship; but while he was still steward he could convert some of those staples into a commodity such that his discharge from stewardship could not alienate it from him. That exactly is what we mean by treasure laid up in heaven, — possessions of such a sort that death cannot impair nor diminish it, — of that indestructible quality that the death-power can work in it no corrosion. That was what was intended when it was said

of a recently deceased philanthropist that he took his wealth with him; by which was meant that he carried up with him to the heavenly home and the throne of God the friendships, the loves, and the prayers of the multitudes all around the earth who had had their burdens lightened and their lives strengthened and sweetened by his tender beneficence. He indeed took none of his money with him, but before he was called hence he had converted a good deal of that money into something which he did take with him, and which to-day composes part of his crown of rejoicing as he treads the golden streets of the celestial city. If we have property in buildings we insure it. Insurance is a sort of contingent and anticipative conversion of combustible values into incombustible, so that they will survive the conflagration if it befalls, and be ready to our hand on the other side of the conflagration, undiminished and unscarred. Or if you are a man of wealth and your property is scattered, and disaster of any kind impends, with the first suspicion of disaster, or the first rumor of war, your instant care is to convert it, so far as may be, into values of so impregnable a sort that the shock of war and its devastations will not shatter them, and thus you be let through onto the thither side of disaster, with your estates and effects in the least possible measure impaired.

We have not said much about what it is that these lower values can be converted into to the insuring of their permanence and indestructibility. The third lesson concerns that matter, "Make to yourselves friends by means of your earthly possessions." Carlyle was speaking quite closely in the line of Scripture when he said: "The wealth of a man consists in the number of things he loves and blesses, and in the number of things he is loved and blessed by." A friend, as it is meant here, is a person that has so come under the power of our love as to love back; loving us because we loved him. Such friends we take with us. Death does not terminate the possession. They are value which survives the good-by. They are celestial treasure; if they are gone up before, they are treasure laid up in heaven, where moth and rust do not corrupt. By this love we do not mean mere pleasant acquaintance between person and person. That is another matter. It is a gospel affair, this love. It is the same sort of going out and losing ourselves in other people that was in Christ's case. In Christ's case we call it giving himself for others. That is love exactly, letting go of ourselves in the taking hold of another; and one that gets under our hold in that way is our friend, he is our

treasure, he is our jewel. He may be here or may be there; we may be here or may be there, but he is our jewel. And our possessions of money or talent or otherwise will help us make friends, not because friends can be bought, but because we can make the things we give the emblem to them of our self-giving, even as sympathetic tears win our hearts just because they are the glistening symbols of sympathy. That is certainly a great deal of the meaning of Christ's blood; it comes from the heart, and means heart. And men are saved by Him because they are loved by Him, and know they are loved by Him.

And love of this kind, the love that makes friends, does not work inside of fixed lines—it is not a matter of lines—any more than warmth will slip along a groove, or light go by latitude and longitude. Christ loved up and down, all the way from the throne of his Father to the spirits in the nether prison. Love that works at particular levels is always to be suspected. Christly love is like the sun, which sheds its beams vertically as well as horizontally. When I find a man of great means whose lovers are only from the class of the well-to-do, the beautiful, the cultivated, I am not authorized to say that his friends are not friends, in the gospel sense of the word; but when I know that the turf on his grave is moistened by the tears of the poor, the degraded, I know that that man was a Christian. Love that works vertically is born only of God. And it may be added that there is nothing the poor and degraded need so much as they do love. They need love more than they do money; if we gave them less gold and more affection they would be better off in heart, mind, and estate. Christ instituted no charitable organization, only as every Christian is designed to be himself a charitable organization, collector, treasurer, and committee of disbursement, all in one. Men are to be redeemed by love; love is power,—personal power working toward another winningly, operating in him actuatingly, resting on him as a benediction. Love is the redeeming element; love is the pith of the gospel, the axis on which all turns. And men grow surprisingly lovable as soon as we begin to love them; startlingly interesting as soon as we begin to be interested in them. We shall find in people just as much heart as we have the heart to find in them. As soon as we begin in a Christ-like way to love people, we shall discover that they love to be loved. They are in our power, if our power is heart-power. It is an easy thing to make a friend. It is like God to make a friend, and a friend is a permanent possession, treasure in heaven, imperishable jewel, star in our crown of rejoicing, out of which the light never fades.

And the friends we have made in this way, knit to us in the meshes of an undying love, if they pass up before us, will be there waiting for us. That is part of the meaning of the parable, — that when your possession fails, those whom you have made to love you may receive you into the home that is everlasting. It really takes that to make out the idea of home, — somebody waiting for you. When you have come back from the church-yard where has been laid the precious dust of your companion, and have crossed the old threshold, and entered the familiar room where so many times, as you have entered, a tender greeting has been given you, it is just the loss of that, and the knowing that he or she is never going to be waiting there for you again, that unmakes the home. So this verse contains another of those hints, that, here and there, like stars dispersed in a dim firmament, give our hearts something to take hold of, and wind themselves about. Heaven comes into a little more real and social relation to us. A bridge, light and impalpable, but strong enough to bear the freightage of a great hope, gets thrown across the interval.

I know we are going to have Christ there, and so we have Him here; but that does not destroy the need of human fellowship, but rather makes the need the greater. We shall love there more, not less. That the sun shines in the sky with such splendor, not makes other objects less needful, but more so. It is through them in part that the true power and glory of the sun get disclosed to us. We have Christ here; and a part of his felt power and loveliness now is in the beautiful relations that, at his hallowing impulse, contrast themselves among men. It seems a little transcendent to say that there Christ is to be our "all." But it does just cover the ground to say that there He is going to be our "*all in all.*" When you have crossed the sea, and on nearing port and coming up to the deck have seen among the throng of eager expectants no eye that was looking for *you*, no face that was flushed with a glad welcome for you, your heart has faltered within you, and you have turned back a wistful glance over the tired leagues that divide you from country and friends. But if among the throng you detect a responsive eye that *is* waiting for you, and a face flushing with old-time love that has been strengthening with the interval, right there, just on the threshold of the strange continent, there grows up in you a deep restful sense of home.

Remember that your stewardship here is not for long. Use carefully and lovingly the things that God has given you. And when it comes time for you to depart, may there be many hearts

here that shall be orphaned by your going, and many waiting hearts there that shall be gladdened by your coming.

*Charles H. Parkhurst.*

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### PILGRIMAGE.

A SILENT monk, in cloister gray,  
At his cell window stands,  
While knightly hosts, in rich array,  
Move by in shining bands.

They march on, singing, undismayed,  
In chorus sweet and strong;  
The banner of the cross displayed  
Above the knightly throng.

They hold their course right towards the sea,  
The ship they stand upon;  
And forth it flies so merrily,  
It soon looks but a swan.

The monk stands at his window-sill,  
And gazes on their way:  
"I am a pilgrim like ye still,  
Though here at home I stay.

"Life's journey on through seas of rage  
And burning wastes of sand,  
Is verily a pilgrimage  
Unto the promised land."

*From the German of Leitner.*

*C. H.*

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### VIA VITÆ.

I HAD a message from the Lord:  
He bade me rise, and seek His face;  
He set me in a shady road,  
That bloomed with beauty and with grace.

I wandered on, from flower to flower;  
I breathed their perfume with delight.

How sweetly passed each sunny hour!  
How full of beauty every sight!

Till almost I forgot that I  
Was but a traveler on the road;  
The vale so fair, so blue the sky,  
It seemed it must be my abode.

Then colder grew the azure sky;  
The night came down, the flowers were gone.  
A voice spoke to me from on high:  
"Thou foolish child, press on, press on!"

C. H.

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### THE DOCTRINE OF SACRED SCRIPTURE.<sup>1</sup>

THE two large volumes before us are themselves an illustration of an incidental observation made by the author. When speaking of the modifications of the post-Reformation theory which have been brought about by critical study of the Bible, he remarks that "the practical uses of the Bible, and the dissemination of its facts and truths, have been nearly in the inverse ratio of the currency given to the former theological conception." As the theory of the perfect infallibility and equal authority of all parts of the Bible has been slowly yielding its untenable ground, the Bible itself has been more widely read, more intelligently studied, more spiritually applied to Christian life, more confidently taught and preached to all nations. Not only are translations and commentaries multiplied for popular use, but also books concerning the Bible are pouring from the press: books on the canon, books on the text, books on the authorship, books on the science, on the history, on the miracles, on the prophecies of the Bible; extended treatises on Inspiration, on the characteristics of Revelation, on the higher criticism, and even on the methods of studying the Bible. Here is a book of fifteen hundred pages entitled "The Doctrine of Sacred Scripture," and discussing the claims and facts of the Bible, in order to frame a theory of its origin. It has been known for a

<sup>1</sup> *The Doctrine of Sacred Scripture.* A critical, historical, and dogmatic inquiry into the origin and nature of the Old and New Testaments. By GEORGE T. LADD, D. D., Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in Yale College. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1883. Vol. I. pp. xxii. and 761. Vol. II. pp. xiii. and 765.



considerable time that Professor Ladd was preparing such a book; its publication has been awaited with much interest, and it has been read, or will be read, by nearly all critical students of the Bible. That there is a demand for so exhaustive a treatment of such a theme justifies the remark which has been quoted. The study of sacred Scripture from every point of view goes quietly on. Exact knowledge accumulates, and existing theories are modified correspondingly. In some respects investigation abates, in some respects exalts, current opinions, but ever carries us to a more intimate knowledge of the facts upon which consistent theories must be built. Such a book as Professor Ladd's—and this gives it large part of its value—brings discussions and conclusions down to date, and marks the point already reached in the progress of enlightened research. Its significance is that enough has already been gained by critical and historical studies to warrant the attempt to construct or to reconstruct the doctrine of the inspiration, authority, and infallibility of sacred Scripture. And it is safe to predict that the main lines of conclusion followed by the author and by those scholars who substantially agree with him will not be widely departed from, but that future modifications will be almost exclusively of details, proportions, and emphasis.

The first impression received on glancing over these numerous pages is of patient research and exhaustive learning,—an impression which is confirmed by the actual reading. There is scarcely a page but has its foot-note of reference to English, German, French, Greek, Latin, or Hebrew sources of information. The results of German scholarship and the conclusions of German dogmatics, both conservative and radical, the author has well in hand. The criticism may perhaps be fairly made that he is somewhat too generous in his quotation and citation, and that the literary method of his book follows too much the German in accumulating vast masses of materials from every quarter, and in saying all that can possibly be said on all branches of the subject. To this criticism the author would doubtless reply that if his readers only knew how many quotations have been omitted which he intended to make, and how much material has been laid aside which it was in his heart to use, they would pronounce these one and a half thousand pages a marvel of condensation. Notwithstanding, it may justly be said that the treatment borders on diffuseness, and that much would have been gained both for the circulation of the book and for the weight of its opinions by compactness and incisiveness. The approach is at times so gradual, there are so many preliminary state-

ments, there are so many promises of what is coming later (all of which are faithfully fulfilled), that one becomes somewhat impatient, and either incontinently skips a page or two, or wishes the author had adopted for his literary work the philosophy of oratory laid down by Mark Antony, "I only speak right on." It is so necessary, however, in such a discussion to prevent all misunderstanding, even that of supposing that a question or objection has been overlooked, although it is to be discussed later, that some diffuseness and repetition may be pardoned. Besides this criticism, and the observation that some sentences are circuitous and labored expression of the thought, there is little unfavorable comment to be made.

Interest centres in the conclusions which the author claims to have established. It may be said, then, with almost unqualified emphasis, that the treatment of the questions under discussion is judicial throughout. There is no special pleading. When facts are plainly in conflict with received opinion, their bearing is honestly indicated; and when they are not in conflict, even if some insist that they are, the integrity of the accepted view is maintained. He is careful to remain well within the lines of moderation, and not to claim more, but rather to claim less, than might be claimed by insistent pressing of facts. The perspective is well preserved, so that recent discoveries and inferences which from their present interest are close before the eye are not allowed to be magnified into undue importance. The tone of the writer is conservative. The caution which is characteristic of the book adds all the more weight to conclusions which are deliberately accepted. Above all, while there must, in the nature of the case, be much destructive criticism, the spirit of the book is thoroughly evangelical. The views presented concerning the supernatural in revelation, concerning miracles, and concerning the Person of Christ, are all that could be desired by the most cautious of Christian believers.

The method adopted is natural and effective. The first part, covering about two hundred pages, treats of the claims the Bible makes for itself. What did the historians, law-givers, prophets, and apostles claim concerning the inspiration and authority of their writings? What does the New Testament imply concerning the Old? What is the impression made by Christ's quotation, application, and qualification of the Old Testament? How did He distinguish the essential from the temporary in the Hebrew Scriptures? What promises did He make his disciples concerning the guidance of the Holy Spirit in their utterances and writings?

The second part, including four hundred and fifty pages, deals with the facts of the Bible. It is a critical study of the phenomena of the Bible, such as its statements concerning creation and the laws of physical nature, its historical records, its account of miracles, its predictions and their fulfillment, the imperfection of some of its ethical contents, the authorship of the several books, the language and style of the writers, the formation of the canon of Scripture, and the variations of the text. The third part, occupying two hundred pages, is an historical sketch of the development of the doctrine of sacred Scripture, with special attention to the period succeeding the Reformation, as furnishing the only distinct theory of the origin and infallibility of all parts of the Bible which has ever been held. The fourth part, embracing the remaining five hundred pages, is an induction from the facts thus studied, the several chapters, one after another, carefully tracing the characteristics of revelation as historical, gradual, progressive, original, and organic, in a complete unity; reverently inquiring concerning the agency of the Holy Spirit in the formation of Scripture; minutely analyzing the mental and spiritual activity of the writers of the Bible in receiving and recording the truths revealed by the Spirit; cautiously combining glimpses of the visions, dreams, ecstasies, visits of angels alluded to in the Old Testament with the calmer moods of mental quickening implied in the New Testament to frame a consistent theory of inspiration in its many grades and forms; discriminating broadly between the Word of God and the writings in which that Word is contained; clearly recognizing the mutual dependence of the Bible and the Church, while subordinating the Christian consciousness of the ages to the Word of God; carefully defining the authority of the Bible as residing in the ethico-religious sphere, and always gaining a response from a living faith; and at the end dwelling with some glow of fervor on the spiritual uses of the Bible for the individual and for society.

Is there, now, any concise and comprehensive statement of the author's conclusion? His theory is, and is repeatedly styled, Christo-centric. The value and the authority of the several parts are determined by their relation to the redemption which is in Christ Jesus. The Word of God, as distinguished from the sacred writings, is all that pertains nearly or remotely to the Person and work of Christ. All that was preparative in the history of Israel and of the world to the kingdom of redemption; all movements, however insignificant in themselves, which converge towards Christ; all the record of the sacred life, the precepts, the deeds, the

sufferings, the death, the exaltation of Jesus; all the history and doctrine which were wrought into the structure of the early Church, are the Word of God, and the Christian consciousness of this and of every age may be trusted to recognize it. The statement of this view by the author is frequently given in various forms, such as these: "The Word of God is that organism of truth, consisting of both fact and doctrine, which has been made known by the historic process of divine self-revelation in redemption, to men whose spiritual activities were for that purpose supernaturally illumined, quickened, and purified." "But if such a true Word of God really exists, it certainly exists nowhere outside of the sacred writings of the Old and New Testaments. Words of God there may have been which are not in the Bible, but *the* Word of God, as an organic unity of progressively revealed truth set in the history of the kingdom of redemption, must lie within the Bible." But is the entire Bible the Word of God? "The Bible is not, in its whole extent and throughout, identical with the Word of God; but the Bible contains, embraces, and conveys the Word of God." At an earlier stage of the discussion, the writer contented himself with indicating his opinion that the "Bible is the record, substantially true and sufficiently accurate, of the history of that process of divine self-revelation and redemption which culminates in Jesus Christ."

The practical question with readers of the Scriptures is concerning the amount of Bible which is not the Word of God. How much of the Bible is out of organic relation to the redemptive kingdom of Christ, and may therefore be considered to have no other origin and purpose than belong to uninspired writings? The author does not trace geographical boundaries running in and out between this book and that, or deviously winding among verses and sentences. He trusts Christian reason, faith, and experience, guided by all the helps of exact knowledge, to distinguish the divine revelation from such imperfections and excrescences as pertain to the human media through which the Word is given. But it is reassuring to know that all the results of modern critical research leave the New Testament in its entirety almost untouched, and take from the Old Testament almost nothing but that which the Church has always recognized as of subordinate value. More definitely, besides the slight discrepancies and inaccuracies of the four evangelists which all intelligent Christians have long since conceded, and which serve to confirm rather than to invalidate the historical genuineness of their records, and besides similar trifling er-

rors in other parts of the New Testament, the whole book stands as coextensive with the Word of God. Only two considerable sections are of doubtful place in the four Gospels,—the closing verses of Mark's Gospel, and the account of the woman taken in adultery; and of the latter it is supposed that the event actually occurred, although it was not recounted by John. Those books which only slowly gained the right to stand in the canon, namely, the Epistle of Jude, the second of Peter, the second and third of John, and the Apocalypse, are to be held as integral parts of the Word, having fought their way to recognition, although they are obviously of secondary rank, especially the shorter epistles. Even if criticism should throw out the Epistle of Jude, and the other short epistles mentioned, we should scarcely be aware of any loss to the completeness of revelation. The fourth Gospel is now confidently claimed, as the Church has always prized it, as the Gospel according to John.

In the Old Testament, only the Book of Esther and the Song of Solomon hold their places doubtfully in the canon. Would any one value his Bible less, or know less of God's redemptive revelation in Christ, if the history of Mordecai and Esther were on a level with the history of Tobit, or if the drama of the Canticles no longer presented him its obscure allusions and oriental imagery as the inspired Word of God? As to the authorship and date of certain books of the Old Testament, there must, indeed, be a reconstruction of opinion; as to the unequal grades of inspiration in history, psalms, prophecy, and proverbs, there is no dispute; but with the exceptions named, the books of the Bible, as a whole, retain their canonical position.

Difficulties concerning the inspiration of the Bible, as an indivisible whole, arise chiefly from the reading of the Old Testament. What does the author say, then, or what does modern criticism, as interpreted by the author, say about the science of the Bible,—that is, its account of creation; what about the exterminating wars and the imprecatory psalms,—that is, its apparent approval of that which we consider wrong; and what about the story of Jonah, and Joshua's command to the sun to stand still? There is a candid discussion of all these difficulties, into the details of which this brief paper cannot enter.

As to physical science, the opinion is no other than that held by all Christians who lay claim to any intelligence, not to say common sense whatever, unless it be the Rev. John Jasper of Virginia. Any clergyman, under examination by a council, is bold to affirm

that the Bible was not given to teach science ; that it does not transcend the opinions and the language of the times ; that, in fact, it would have been unintelligible if it had given an absolutely correct account of creation. No more than this is asserted by the book under notice. It is well known that the biblical account of creation corresponds, in many striking features, with the traditions of other nations. "The dark night and the mass of water" — this is the author's quotation from Reusch — "are universally the principal features in the more definite description of this chaos. The six days, or six creative acts, are found in several cosmogonies, from China in the east to the Etruscans in the west, and in essentially the same succession as in Genesis. Man is, without exception, rated as the last creation ; most of the heathen mythologies recognize his formation out of the earth's soil, and some also recognize the formation of woman out of one of the bodily members of man." The writer of the first chapter of Genesis unquestionably made use of existing traditions, and incorporated some of their errors of detail. What gives this account its character of revealed truth is its religious quality. Thus it shows that "the universe is dependent for its existence and present order upon the will of God ;" that "the divine qualities of power and wisdom, as evinced in the divine work of preparing the world of physical substances and forces, of living creatures, and of moral subjects made in the divine image, are prominent ;" that "the divine qualities in their creative activity penetrate every detail of creation, that the divine institution of the Mosaic Sabbath gave distinctive shape to the Mosaic cosmogony, that man stands at the head of creation, and that the universe has been constituted by God through successive acts of creation, an orderly and progressive whole." These are religious conceptions, and it was not necessary to their clear presentation that the method, the order, and the duration of the creative period should be accurately given. What is conspicuous is the immense superiority of this to other traditions from the religious point of view. The author deprecates attempts to harmonize all the details of the biblical narrative with the latest conclusions of science. That the days of creation were thought to be long periods of time is not probable. The writer doubtless thought they were six solar days. No harm was done in leaving that mistake uncorrected, except the harm done by those who try to show that at that early time an account of creation was given precisely corresponding with the theories of modern science. So of the order of creation. It is evidently a mistake to have said that plant life was exuber-



ant before the light of the sun fell on the earth. What a relief it is to the overstrained faith of some to be able to admit that errors of detail in ancient traditions of creation were allowed to stand, while it was only important that the Divine Spirit should so shape and color those traditions as to reveal God as the Creator and the Life of the Universe! What is there in such an admission to obscure the revelation God has made of himself in redemption through Christ? How much more reasonable to admit the errors than to try to explain them all away, as if we thought the spiritual truths of the Bible depend for their validity on the absolute scientific accuracy of the Mosaic cosmogony!

The view of Dörner has much to commend it, that knowledge which is gained in an empirical way is not given by revelation; that inspiration in purely scientific, historical, and chronological matters could only take place internally in the form of vision, but that vision could not exhibit things in their empirical reality, since these by their very nature must be apprehended by means of external experience. Revelation does not, perhaps cannot, make known facts which are discoverable by observation. It is enough to insist that freedom from error applies to the external and human only so far as it stands in essential connection with spiritual truth. The same generalization might justly be made of all knowledge which is gained by observation.

Professor Ladd's method of explaining verbal inaccuracies of quotation by the writers of the New Testament, in citing passages from the Old Testament, is identical with his explanation of errors in the science of the Bible. He frankly admits that they did not pretend to quote verbatim, but gave the thought as it was remembered by them. There was "eagerness to seize on the contents of truth without anxiety as to exactness of verbal form." Sometimes they quote from the Septuagint, sometimes from the Hebrew Scriptures, sometimes in a single sentence they mingle both, sometimes they give only the general sense, showing that they did not consider the exact language of the Bible to be inspired, but only its contents of truth. "It is not primarily the written words, but the divine truth in them, which is regarded as the Word of God." It is shown that Christ himself treated the Old Testament Scriptures with the largest freedom, distinguishing sharply the ethical and religious from the transient contents, showing "a wonderful clearness of vision into ideal truth, together with equally wonderful reserve upon questions of criticism."

The apparent discrepancies and contradictions of the writers of

the New Testament are limited to insignificant points of detail, and it is not necessary to reconcile them in every instance. While it is remarkable that the alleged discrepancies are in many cases no real contradiction, and that so good a showing can be made in attempts to adjust them, nothing vital depends on their explanation. The writers had to use such memories as they had, and even the quickening of the Holy Spirit, recalling many half-forgotten facts, did not make the recollection of events different from original observation of them. Slips of memory and mistakes of perception concerning details do not invalidate the reality of the history of Jesus nor destroy one of its essential features. Since no theory of inspiration is to be held which stands or falls with imperfections in the form of revelation, or with mistakes concerning non-ethical matters; believers may be indifferent to the success of attempts to harmonize inaccuracies, and may even contend that harm is done the Revelation itself by nervous efforts to disprove all imperfections. That which is essential is the ethical, religious, spiritual contents of the Bible. These elements stand out in unmistakable clearness. They even lift themselves in more imposing grandeur by contrast with the imperfections of that which pertains to the form, and with mistakes concerning physical science and secular history.

But are not the ethical contents of the Bible themselves open to criticism? Should Jael have been praised for deceiving and then killing Sisera, who had accepted her hospitality? Is the cruelty of exterminating wars to be justified? Are the imprecatory psalms consistent with the ethical claims of the Bible? These objections have been so thoroughly answered that the author had only to reiterate what has often been urged. Revelation of ethical and religious truth has been progressive. It began to come to men in the twilight of history, and only by degrees increased its light as they were able to bear it. Cruelty, revenge, hatred of enemies, could not be condemned in ruder ages as the Gospel condemns them. In order to be led higher men must start from where they are. Education implies ignorance, and ignorance cannot be removed by a stroke of almightiness. The mild virtues and refined graces which were not understood, and for which there were not even names until Jesus had lived them out in concrete form, could not have been made intelligible to the Israelites as they marched through Canaan. The tragedies of Shakespeare are almost meaningless to a child. Neither is it the design of the inspired writers to ignore the mistakes and sins of their heroes. "David's anger,"

says our author, "against his enemies in a psalm will not necessarily differ from David's anger when otherwise expressed." These honest biographies and these scraps of vindictive poetry make it all the easier to trace the ethical progress of Israel. The Canaanitish wars, even if directly commanded by Jehovah, were not of necessity immoral. "Stern and exterminating war by divine command does not in itself contravene the absolute principles of morality." We might as well say that God should not let men die at all, or that a murderer should not be made to atone for his crime by suffering the penalty of death.

Only two other objections, and those of popular interest, need be mentioned: the alleged standing still of the sun at the command of Joshua, and the story of the prophet Jonah. The author considers the historical ground of the first of these narratives very insecure. He says, "The songs praising the great deeds of that day, and contained in the book of Jasher, furnished the basis of representation of the book of Joshua; and the representation itself seems to have been gained by misunderstanding the figurative speech of poetry as though it were a narrative of veritable history. The author of the book of Joshua, in taking his account from the ancient poetic source of the book of Jasher, misinterpreted its poetry as the statement of fact. Of the magnitude of the physical difficulties which stood opposed to this interpretation, the writer of Joshua had of course no adequate conception." This explanation has reason, and contradicts no consistent theory of inspiration. It is certainly more satisfactory than the puerile devices of supposing that there was a remarkable refraction of light which lengthened the twilight, or that the army was in so deadly earnest killing its enemies that the work of one day seemed like the work of two days.

The story of Jonah has not so insuperable difficulties, if taken literally, as the narrative in Joshua. It is not impossible that a man could be preserved alive in the belly of a sea monster two nights and a day, while it is impossible that the revolution of the earth should have been stopped ten or twelve hours within the knowledge of man. But Professor Ladd's view is that the story is a blending of fact with legend. "A critical examination of the book of Jonah seems to show that it is a composition designed by its author as allegorical and didactic upon a certain basis of historic facts. A poetical invention of incidents is attached for didactic purposes to a basis of history and to a name derived from ancient and trustworthy tradition. The hymn of the prophet in

the belly of the whale, where he conceives of himself as surrounded with water, his head bound with seaweed, and himself drifting with marine currents, or sinking into marine caverns, is surely a peculiar style of historical composition." The references made by Jesus to the narrative do not pronounce upon its historical reality, but only make use of it as a well-known story having some features of resemblance to his own mysterious death. The value of the book of Jonah is in its teachings concerning the compassion of God.

Enough examples have been chosen to show the manner of dealing with difficulties. The old maxim concerning the Bible, *Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus*, is discarded. The attempt is given over to balance the pyramid of revealed truth on its apex. Its base is the sacred history of God's dealings with men in the preparation and accomplishment of redemption and the establishment of Christ's kingdom. Upon these solid facts it stands securely, and rears its majestic outlines above all surrounding structures. The scratches, the nicked corners, the open crevices here and there, do not weaken the noble pile, but rather suggest its venerableness and heighten the effect of its rugged massiveness.

The author has perhaps yielded more than is necessary concerning the alleged mistakes, inaccuracies, contradictions, and imperfections of the Bible. Many of these which he does not care to explain away may perhaps be capable of explanation. But he has doubtless conceded so much for the sake of showing more clearly the real progress of revelation, the essential facts and truths involved in historical redemption, and the actual influence of the Spirit by which the writers of the Bible were directed. Let us have a theory of the Bible, he is always saying, which is in accordance with the facts, and which distinguishes the permanent from the transient, the divine from the human, the essential from the non-essential, the spirit from the letter, the treasure from the vessel. Let us not put the Sermon on the Mount on a level with the Levitical sacrifices, nor make the Gospel of John no loftier than the Song of Solomon. Let us not stumble over the story of Jonah so that we cannot follow Christ, nor allow an error in the counting of an army, or in the age of a patriarch, to deprive us of a David's psalms, an Isaiah's prophecies, or a Paul's doctrine. The Word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword. With this gleaming blade in our hands, we are not concerned if we detect a scratch on the scabbard. The light shines from the golden candlestick, and it is of no con-

sequence if a blemish is discovered in a line of the carving. Better a plain, honest candle, which sends its beams into a dark world, than the most beautiful lamp which is empty of oil, and in the darkness cannot itself be seen.

But how may we know, is the inquiry of many an anxious mind, what is non-essential? How are we to distinguish the transient from the permanent? Is it not safer to preserve the faith of the fathers that the entire Book is free from errors, and that it is only our distorted sight that seems to perceive them? It is never safe to embrace theories for the sake of convenience or imagined security which are not supported by fact. It would not be difficult to show that much existing skepticism concerning the authority of the Bible is due to those extreme theories of its absolute perfection which are not yet entirely abandoned. But apart from that, the answer of Professor Ladd is, that the Church Catholic, through the ages, has power of discernment to recognize the Word of God in the sacred writings which contain it. Christian reason and faith illumined by the Holy Spirit, or, to use a current expression, the Christian consciousness, will not go far astray in its spiritual discernment of spiritual things. The Word of God is outside the individual, a dead letter, until he appropriates it to his own life. It is bare facts and words to the Church until it is assimilated into contents of living faith. "It is the *testimonium spiritus sancti* within the Christian reason which forms the chief witness to the verity and authority of the Word of God in Scripture. For the act of discerning and testing, as well as of receiving and uttering, the Word of God belongs to the function of the Christian consciousness." It is not meant at all that the objective Word of God, historically given, is subordinate to subjective consciousness, for redemption through Jesus Christ has independent validity, but that Christian consciousness is always an organ for the reception, interpretation, and application of the truth. Neither is it meant that every Christian makes his own Bible, choosing what he likes and rejecting what he dislikes, but that the common consent of believers and the practical agreement of the Christian ages guide each person in separating the secondary from the primary in the sacred writings. After historical and exegetical criticism have done their work, there is no practical difficulty in grouping the contents thus given in a Christocentric arrangement, and in perceiving their proportionate value from that exalted point of view. Christian insight protests emphatically against spiritualizing the trivial details of Old Testa-

ment history till the story of Joseph is made to run parallel with the history of our Lord, and the book of Exodus to suggest the glories of Redemption. We are led to ask why it was necessary for Christ to come and for the New Testament to be written at all, if the gospel is thus wrapped up in ancient history. Christian consciousness says that this is secondary, preparatory, and to be taken only for what it pretends to be. This spiritualizing process, which was a legitimate result of the theory of verbal inspiration, is condemned by an enlightened church; that which is subordinate, even that which is mistaken and defective, is easily recognized. There is a Bible within the Bible. The fourth Gospel is the heart of Christ. The Epistle to the Romans outranks the Epistle of Jude. Actual use in the church, in the pulpit, in the family, and in the closet, instinctively values the great, and esteems lightly the little.

That the different parts of the Bible have different grades of importance has long been recognized even by those who cling to the opinion that every portion of the Bible is inspired of God. Ingenious distinctions are made of inspiration by dictation, by elevation, by suggestion, by superintendence, by permission. Under such a classification everything in the Bible may be called inspired. The caustic remark of the author is deserved. "Irrational clinging to a term as a kind of supposed necessity of orthodoxy, even after it has been emptied of all its essential contents, characterizes no small amount of discussion at the present day."

It is too well-known to need repeating, that the doctrine of an infallible Book was set up as against the doctrine of an infallible Church by those who came after the Reformers, although the Reformers themselves exercised a large liberty in their use of the Bible, — Luther pronouncing the Epistle of James a "right strawy epistle," and declaring it ought not to be in the canon, a judgment which is rightly set aside by the Church, because ethics is as essential in the gospel as justifying faith. The post-Reformation theory encouraged Bibliolatry, which, in its way, may be as bad as Mariolatry. The Bible was exalted above Christ. Theories of the Bible which are now forcing their way to acceptance, and which are advocated in Professor Ladd's solid book, exalt Christ to the supreme place, and look on the Bible as a divinely appointed means for fixing in the knowledge of men the preparation for his coming, the glory of his Person, the infinite greatness and efficacy of his Atonement, and the laws and triumphs of his kingdom.

There is not space in this paper to indicate the position of the book on controverted critical questions. As to the authorship of



the Pentateuch, it is enough to state the author's conclusion. While he admits that Moses could not have written it all with his own hand, but that there have been revisions and additions by later workmen, yet the material, taken as a whole, constitutes the one Mosaic law. The substance of it was given to and through Moses, so that later enactments and customs get their principle and coloring from the existing law of Moses. Codification makes the entire history and law an organic, living whole. "The two convictions, that the law is one and of Mosaic origin, and that the history of Israel is a narrative of the dealings of Jehovah with Israel on the basis of a law which is the covenant, cannot remain apart." It is claimed that the system of worship described in Exodus and Leviticus is of Mosaic origin. It is also claimed that the importance of this question of authorship is overrated, that the integrity of the Word of God is not impeached by the fact that later writers composed or reëdited parts of the Pentateuch, any more than by the fact that some of the Psalms are not Davidic.

All the way through the book a commendable caution is exercised, and the opinion is cogently maintained that the Bible as a whole stands unhurt by critical research and attack, and that the supernatural character of revelation, the divineness of our Lord's Person and of his work, and the true inspiration of the record, are more certain than ever. He would agree with Professor Fisher concerning the disputed books of the canon, and would carry that opinion over to the sum total of the Bible after all reasonable concessions are made on every point. That statement is, "It is obvious at a glance that, even were all of the books enumerated under the head of Antilegomena eliminated from the canon, the loss, however considerable, would not obliterate a single essential fact, or a single essential doctrine of the Christian system." And he adds, "The example of Martin Luther may reassure timid souls who conceive that absolute certainty respecting the authorship of all the books in the canon is an article of a standing or falling church."

So brief a notice as this does slender justice to the learned and able work under review, but may serve to indicate the conclusions, and to suggest the spirit, of the author, as well as to mark the progress made by critical study towards a consistent and spiritual view of the revealed Word of God.

We have reason to be grateful in view of two general results of recent investigation. One is the unmistakable tendency towards caution in reconstructing theories of the origin of the Bible. The

extreme conclusions of those who would place the beginnings of the entire ritual of Jewish worship in the period following the Exile are rejected. The spirit of iconoclasm which would destroy the historical reality of integral portions of the Bible is repulsed. The skepticism which would reduce God's redemptive work in history to mere naturalism is squarely met and vanquished. The divine revelation given through human media which are not immaculately perfect is the veritable Word of God resounding in our ears. Heaven and earth may pass away, but the sacred Word shall not pass away. Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, and to-day, and forever.

The other result for which we may be grateful is that, in the light of the more rational and scriptural views of inspiration, much doubt concerning the Bible is dispelled, and much question concerning its authority silenced. When imperfections of form and detail are frankly admitted, imperfections which are easily distinguished from the revelation of ethical and religious truth, and which only willful perversion will indiscriminately confound with the Word of God, then nearly all perplexities and objections disappear. That was a tremendous strain put upon faith by the theory of two hundred years ago, that the Bible is perfect in every detail, inspired in every expression, equally authoritative in all its parts. That theory has made a thousand skeptics where a theory based on facts makes one. There is danger, indeed, that undue license will be taken if any imperfection is admitted, and that the authority of the whole will be denied, but the danger that the revelation will be rejected is incalculably greater when a doctrine of perfect infallibility is imposed. Even for the Bible, it is wiser to claim too little than to claim too much. It is part of our spiritual discipline to discriminate the essential from the non-essential, to get in through the setting of circumstance to the eternal truth. Those may use the Bible most fearlessly who are most free from the bondage of the letter. God's Word will vindicate itself. He who knows it for what it is has least fear concerning its authority and efficiency. He welcomes all investigation. Timidity is characteristic of those who cling to an artificial theory, who fear the gospel will perish if a genealogical list is incorrectly given, or if it should appear that Moses did not write every chapter of the Pentateuch with his own hand, who accept without qualification a theory supported only by tradition, and a tradition, at that, by no means mossy with antiquity.

It is not important to claim for the entire Bible more than Paul

claimed for the Old Testament. His theopneusty is ethico-religious. Following the revised version, we hear him say, "Every scripture inspired of God is also profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness; that the man of God may be complete, furnished completely unto every good work." *George Harris.*

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### THE CHURCHES OF THE HUGUENOTS AND THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF FRANCE.

THERE are special times and places which accentuate themselves in their demands for Christian attention. There are signal opportunities when God's providences and promises are seen to be working together, when the All-wise Omnipotence draws the bolts of hindrance, when causes are combining to influence minds and to open the domain of inquiry, when, in short, God's clock of time strikes the hour of special opportunity. Then the Church of Christ finds itself confronted by problems of new promise and grandeur. Such times and places are strategic for Christ. To see the open door and to enter in is the wisdom of the wise. Without doubt, such an opportunity now presents itself in France. Many are the appeals in this land for Christian attention. The French are a people of interest. Their qualities of mind, their susceptibility to great suggestions, their quick apprehension of ideas, the irresistible fascination which seizes them when under great impulses, their ardor and enthusiasm, are characteristics which command consideration. They are confessedly a people of genius in art and architecture. They have music and form and color. In many ways they are brilliant. Their literature sparkles with epigrams. They crystallize volumes in sententious sentences. They communicate earnestly what they think and feel. They have a spirit of aggression. They have never failed to put their stamp upon the times and things with which they have to do.

The nation holds rank in the family of nations. It has numerical and commercial power. Its influence reaches far. Whatever touches France touches Europe, Asia, Africa, and the islands of the sea. All of this intensifies the claim upon the attention of those who believe that the world belongs to Christ.

The questions which are presenting themselves to this people at the present time, in respect to the correction of ancient errors in

government, in education, and in religion, together with the condition of the popular mind, make this claim upon Christian regard special and urgent.

We have long known that France needed the gospel. But to what degree does France feel her need? We are hearing of a new religious movement in France. What is its character, extent, and true significance? The desire to know the facts more accurately, to measure their hopefulness and unhopefulness, is evident in the manifold inquiries which are unceasingly made of those who are in a position to study the problem carefully and to give the conclusions of experience. But an intelligent view cannot be a hasty one. Even when the elements of careful study and candid personal observation are duly considered there will be opinions.

It is difficult even in the United States, where church work has the organization of time and statistics are as free as water, to take exact inventories of the religious condition. The vital statistics of piety do not all get into the columns of figures, nor do we write in numbers the forces of sin. Some magnify hopes, others intensify hindrances. Some see degeneracy, others progress. One bewails, another sings. Much more in France one question leads to many. The present is deeply rooted in history, and cannot be cut off and considered alone. Many of the religious problems are complex. Religious liberty is recent. Organizations for gospel aggression are tentative. Statistics are necessarily meagre. Much is in the experimental stage. The very name of religion must be emptied and refilled with new meanings. There are social and political influences. Those, therefore, who run through France in a fortnight, or who spend a few weeks in Paris — which, religiously, is not France — may speak with more confidence than knowledge. Impressions are not facts. A view which shall not lean to inclination, which shall take account of the present in its inheritances and its modifications, which shall be broad in its scope and true in its conclusions, must be considerate.

A brief outline of modifying history may assist us.

History tells us how ancient Gaul became merged in the general destinies of Rome, and how the new Frankish nation — peculiar compound of Teuton and Celt, with their mixed qualities — made a thousand years of experiences in these bonds and bondages a most sadly interesting illustration of the continuance of an original stamp.

When the spirit of the Reformation was in Europe multitudes received the word with gladness. France promised to be the leading

Protestant nation. The "new religion" spread so rapidly that there was not a corner in the kingdom which had not its incipient Protestant churches. Persecutions at once began, and to resist these the Protestants confederated under the name of Huguenots (1560). In this compact they grew strong. In 1561 the alarmed Cardinal de Sainte-Croix wrote to the Pope, "The kingdom is already half Huguenot." This was exaggeration; but notwithstanding intolerable persecutions the Huguenot ranks multiplied. The dreadful massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day in 1572 indicates the fury of the purpose to exterminate the rising faith. Sixteen years afterwards, when the Huguenot churches were numbered, it was found that not less than two thousand churches dedicated to the reformed worship were braving the fury of this deadly purpose to destroy them. Seventy years then passed until in the gracious providence of God this tenacious fidelity was rewarded by the consent of the government to the right of existence for Protestant faith. The celebrated Edict of Nantes (1598) decreed with a few restrictions universal liberty and equality to religious profession and worship. The reformers made the most of this until Cardinal Richelieu (1624) declared the Huguenot power too great, and proposed to destroy it. This purpose he pursued undeviatingly, using all the forces at his command, until it ended in the famous siege of La Rochelle (1628), which city, after a heroic defense of fifteen months, in which one half of the population had perished from hunger, surrendered, leaving the Protestant cause in abject prostration.

In the reign of Louis XIV. (1685) it was found that the Protestants had been slowly but steadily recuperating, and were again gathering strength. Madame Maintenon (the strange granddaughter of the Protestant historian D'Aubigné) goaded the king to yet another effort for their extermination. Her wicked influence was too potent. He began by excluding the Huguenots from all public functions, from the liberal professions, from the universities, and from various branches of commerce and industry. He *dragonnaded* soldiers upon them and incited their cruelties. He ended by revoking the Edict of Nantes — the spirit of which had long been violated — and annulled forever the religious liberties of Protestants, ordering all their churches to be leveled with the ground, prohibiting their worship, and exiling their pastors within fifteen days. Their children must be baptized by Roman Catholic priests and strictly educated as members of the Papal Church.

Now came another period of deaths and dungeons. Whole dis-

tricts were laid desolate. Horrible tortures and outrages of every kind followed the decree. All Protestant schools were closed, their universities of Saumur, Montauban, Nîmes, and Sedan were destroyed, and their professors scattered. Their books were burned. The army, as if led by the Furies, was employed for years in hunting Huguenots. The history reads as if diabolism were let loose. Nevertheless, a poor remnant of the Huguenots remained. In their oppressed and dangerous life, they worshiped by night in forests, in caves among the hills, in the mountains, and in whatever places would keep their secrets of fealty to their religious faith.

Louis XIV. died on the first of September, 1715. Two weeks previously Antoine Court, a name ever to be honored as the restorer of the Reformed Church, braved death, and convened the Protestant churches in the first synod that had met for thirty years. This synod, which numbered nine members, there in the depths of the forest, concealed from all but God, reorganized the churches in consistories, synods, and assemblies, under the name of the "Church of the Desert." They decided that the discipline and the faith for which they had contended should stand and be maintained. Three hundred unhoused churches were soon numbered in this organization. Extemporized and unroofed theological schools did not lack for students. They lived in accepted poverty. They held their synods, disguised as shepherds and peasants, and when detected in the night they fled from rock to rock, by the light of the flames which were consuming their houses. They were driven in the depths of winter to the shelterless recesses of the mountains. Fathers arrested went to the galleys for life, mothers to sleep on the bare bricks of dungeon floors. Children were taken from families, and were lost to them. When there might have been quietness and rest from these cruelties with the denial of their holy convictions, they preferred torture with conscience. They would not lie to God. The records overflow with such illustrations of the possible stability and tenacity of character in this people when they are deepened and steadied by the gospel. But in the nation this was a century of political depravity, religious hypocrisy, and moral decay. Once again, in 1787, Louis XVI. in an edict recognized the right of Protestants to live in France, to be born, married, and buried according to law. This tardy concession was too late to prevent the approaching day of judgment. The Papal religion which had taken the sword was now put to the sword by those whom it had educated in its school of horrors. The nation which would not have the



God of the Huguenot's Bible beheld at last a poor shameless creature in the form of a woman led through the streets of Paris in the character of the "Goddess of Reason," and infidelity, the legitimate child of an inhuman religion, wrote over the cemeteries, "There is no God." Thus the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes recognized its offspring in the bloody revolution of 1789.

In 1801 Napoleon the First made his famous religious Concordat, — a cunning scheme of political ambition, — which both reëstablished the Roman Catholic Church in subserviency to the state and gave Protestantism the right of recognized existence with the intent of its subserviency. This came to the fragment which remained now in extreme weakness as to numbers and without much spiritual energy. A repressed life with absence of aggressive activities had chilled the faith. Under these conditions there had crept in a rationalistic sentiment which gradually threatened to defeat what persecution could not destroy. It was a philosophic and rationalistic spirit which settled upon many of the churches like a blight. This was not "Radicalism," which is a recent phase of the religious question which has but a relatively small minority of ministers and churches, and which has in itself the principles of its own dissolution. The rationalism here spoken of was reverent and exemplary. It did not cease to pray, but it prayed to God as "the Supreme Being."

In the monarchy of Louis XVIII., sixty years ago, a most precious revival of spiritual religion, which had its beginning among the Wesleyans in Normandy, made itself felt with great power throughout the Huguenot churches. A remarkable movement and return to evangelical life developed itself for a score of years, in which religious quickening multitudes disavowed their philosophic speculations and consecrated themselves to faith in Christ, while many were converted from Romanism, among whom were the parents of some of the most devoted of the present Christian pastors of France. It was at this time that the father of the celebrated De Pressensé renounced Romanism.

The product of this revival was the missionary spirit, which immediately began to incarnate itself. Louis Philippe, chiefly under the influence of the Protestant historian Guizot, his prime minister, granted additional legal rights for Protestant schools, and a restricted liberty of propagandism. This was an hour of new hope.

In 1833, in this reign, was organized the first missionary society for Protestants in France, — the "*Société Evangélique*," since

honorably known under the secretary-directorship of the lamented Dr. George Fisch, who was himself converted in the revival mentioned. This only French society for missions for two years was a valiant pioneer. It was a "union of evangelical denominations."

Following this, came the special organization of the "Reformed Churches of France," named the "*Société Protestante d'Évangélisation de Bordeaux*" (in 1835), the bureau of which was soon removed to Paris under the name of the "*Société Centrale*." It then had a budget of three hundred dollars a year, and supported three missionaries and eight stations. This was the beginning of the missionary work of the churches which had been reorganized by Antoine Court in the deserts in 1715.

The bright hope of the Protestants was soon clouded. Political changes engrossed the minds of the people. Then came the second Republic, and following it the second Empire. The air was full of political ideas. They were exploding. The thoughts of the time were distracted. Missionary work could not make headway, and evangelical effort was crippled. The internal life of the churches soon felt this, and Rationalism took a new grip. Ministers again began to pray to the "Creator."

When the times morally compelled an enlarged liberty — in the last Empire — those who were steadfast in faith took new courage. The missionary spirit revived and with it evangelical life, so that in the third Republic, under the administration of Thiers — when the Huguenot churches were granted their first official synod since 1661 — they were found to number more than seven hundred churches and about nine hundred thousand nominal Protestants, in a population of thirty-seven millions. Alsatia with three hundred thousand Protestants had been lost to France in their enumeration, but not in their influence.

This synod took account of doctrinal beliefs, and discovered a wide divergence of religious convictions. Nearly two thirds, however, were holding firmly to the discipline and faith of the Reformed Church, while a very persistent third contended for a system of Christian ethics, and opposed any formulated statements of belief. This question divided the churches. Remaining classified by the state as one, the separation was distinctly defined. Those who were what "is commonly called evangelical" declined to be held, in any other than a nominal relationship, as one under the government; and in administration, as in spirit, withdrew from all coöperation with those who called themselves "liberals," except

in such directions as do not touch the question of faith and its development.

Meanwhile the government, whose duty it is to convoke the synods, now declines to call the churches together in view of this division. Hence no other legally "official" synod has met, but the synods "unofficial," which are regularly held by the evangelical churches, answer every purpose. Their "authority rests in the reason of it." Three "general," and twenty-one "local," synods comprehend about six hundred congregations of evangelical churches; less than two hundred churches, whose ministers at least are liberal, not meeting with them. At these synodal meetings the material and spiritual progress of the churches is reported, and the various missionary enterprises which are entirely in the hands of evangelical forces are reviewed. The last reports show much spiritual development, a large gain in laical energy, and many genuine revivals within the churches.

The spirit of the ministry is fraternal, observant, determined, patient, and hopeful. Of the nine hundred Protestant pastors and ministers in France, the Reformed Church of France has seven hundred and six, of whom more than five hundred are in pronounced evangelical fellowship. The remainder include the "Free" churches, the Wesleyan, Baptist, and others, which are evangelical; the Lutheran, also, which are partly evangelical. The membership of communicants is estimated to be about three hundred thousand.

Financially, these churches are weak. Their history explains this. Their church edifices are extremely plain. Not a carpeted church may be found among them all. The singing of the worship is congregational and voluntary. It is somewhat sad in strain, as if it carried the memory of their struggles and sorrows. With new hope, however, new songs of joy are introducing themselves, and with these many hymns of a revival character, which fact indicates the gracious work going on within the churches. New editions of hymn-books are presenting their claims for attention. In France this is not yet a curse. All pastors are compelled by the government to take the degree of Bachelor of Arts previous to their ordination, and that which was originally intended for a restriction, and which does not apply to the Romish Church, has happened for the furtherance of the gospel in furnishing the churches with a well-educated ministry.

Their salaries are most meagre. The larger number receive \$360 a year from the state, which is not greatly augmented by

the people, whose taxes, in part for this purpose, are heavy. The salary of an eloquent leading pastor, in the expensive city of Lyons, is \$840 a year. The pastors of Paris receive \$800 a year from the state, except those who, from Free Church principles, decline this aid. It need not be said that these pastors include many large minds, and very much resolute self-denial and needed consecration.

The importance of their theological seminaries is keenly recognized. The professors are equal and devoted to their places and their day, but are driven to most laborious additions to their professional duties to eke out a lamentably small support. The faculty of the Protestant Theological Seminary under the government at Paris is not free from the rationalistic element in the person of one or two of its members. Hence this institution is not sustained by the evangelical portion of the churches.

The hindrance of "Rationalism" among the French pastors has been, and is, deeply felt, but in some respects it has been exaggerated.

In the first place, while there is one legal recognition of all Protestants by the state, the separation is as thoroughly complete as it could be in our own land. Then, also, the missionary enterprises, benevolences, aggressions, and sacrifices, all have their spring in the evangelical body, and are in their control. Rationalism has, moreover, in France, "advanced" to "Radicalism," which the more speedily overthrows itself. Lacking motive for existence, lacking justification for sacrifices, and lacking sacrifice, its stronger forces are constantly withdrawing from the ministry as a divine calling. It has not consecration, and has poor pay. Its leaders may now be found among librarians, inspectors of public schools, and in various grades of government offices. Two are in the more congenial sittings of the parliament. The strength of this religious "Radicalism," which is its affinity with the natural propensity of the unregenerate human mind, is also its weakness. It cannot recruit its clergy, while evangelical candidates for the evangelical theological schools multiply. Many students whose hearts are quickened with Christian desire for their country are compelled to forego their purpose to enter the ministry through lack of a little aid. That such a Radicalism is a hindrance to evangelical forces in France is certainly true, as it would be anywhere, but this constitutes no reason why our brethren in Christ, who are wholly separate from these in spirit and in work, should not the more have our cordial help, which

they need. If Demas forsakes Paul, the apostle is still the servant of God. We do not give comfort to Rationalism when we send succor and sympathy to those who are faithfully and successfully contending against it.

There are two great facts with which these churches of the Huguenots have to do. First, Infidelity. This is the legitimate child of a superstitious faith which has been false to human needs. Hence "Free-thinkers" in France; but they are not thinkers. While they oppose religion in every form, they have nothing to offer in its place, and the people will not rest content with denials. The French are constitutionally positive. The strength of infidelity in France is chiefly in its voice. It vociferates, but the people feel that it is "impuissant." Its widely heralded councils are small. Their advertised mass meetings are less respectable in numbers than such gatherings are in the United States. They could scarcely be less respectable in quality. The most dangerous infidelity in France is that which is least pronounced. It does not oppose religion. The faith which it has seen, and the only religion which it knows, it scorns. It calls itself "Free thought," but this is only a name. It is simply nothing. The religious sense is deadened, the moral sense feels this, and the character is materialistic. It says, "Let us eat, drink, and be merry." The thought upon religion, so far as there is thought, is agnostic. "*We* do not know, why should we care?"

And yet all this is not beyond the power of God. While old ideas are sinking, and new questions are rapidly rising, there is, even among these classes, a wonderful readiness to listen and to discuss. There is a remarkable spirit of hearing in the land. Many are not so indifferent but that curiosity and the general atmosphere of inquiry move them to listen to the promises of a "new religion," and to whatever can be said for it. Some notable exponents of Christian faith have come through the deepest quagmires of infidelity, and many are saying, "This I know, that whereas I was blind now I see." The leaders of infidelity are both bitter and intolerant, but they represent little. The forces of Christianity are courageously active and earnest, but their positive recruits from this large agnostic element are relatively small. A few years ago there was a marked tendency to Protestantism on the part of many influential persons, who thought that they saw in it a great and stable power for their country; but when it was more fully seen that it was an earnest faith, and could only be a political force as it became a saving faith, the proffered sympathy

ceased. It left Protestantism to itself as a religion. The most which can be said for this part of France is, that the door is invitingly open wide.

The second great fact with which these Huguenot churches have to do is Romanism. It remains a great power, and will so remain for some period of time, because decay is slow. That it has many true Christians under its care may not be denied, but as a system it has proved itself false to man. That it has lost its prestige in France, and the confidence of the great majority of the people, is plainly evident. That it unconsciously fortifies infidelity is demonstrated in the existing facts. But it is rooted in the centuries, and roots have great significance. It has millions of mothers at its confessionals. Women are the last to leave their church. This means long self-perpetuation by its educational system. At the same time, there is a very large fraction among those who yet call themselves Romanists over whom the church has lost its power. Many from these attend Protestant meetings, and are reading the gospel and religious tracts, and inquiring, with a singular absence of religious bigotry. French Romanists are far more accessible than those of other lands. Without disguising the difficulties that come in the exchange of faiths, or exaggerating the hopefulness, the condition is full of interest. Here, also, the door is wide open, and eager inquirers are coming through it with utmost sincerity. There are no legal material hindrances. The greatest difficulty which now appears is to rouse people from indifference, — to meet the deadness of conscience, and to reach the insensibility to sin. All this state of things is the heritage of the past. The power to overcome it is not of man.

To these problems of religious life in France the Huguenot churches are earnestly addressing themselves. They are efficiently and economically organized for this. Their "Bible Society," which in 1871 distributed sixteen thousand copies of the Bible, last year distributed forty thousand.

The "*Société Evangélique*" has planted one hundred and sixty-three stations for the regular preaching of the gospel. Thousands have found light in its light. As a "union" society, it especially represents the "voluntary principle" in churches. Its receipts for the first two years of its existence were \$360. It now dispenses about \$20,000 yearly.

The "*Société Centrale*," the organization of the "Reformed Church of France," which began with three missionaries, employs



now one hundred and fifty,<sup>1</sup> with three hundred and forty-five missionary stations, forty-five of which have been added within four years. It has planted eighty new churches in the last twelve years.

The yearly contributions of these French churches and missionary work aggregates \$200,000. This is very much for those who give, and whose missionary training and opportunity are recent. It is not much, however, for thirty-seven millions of souls. Not more than one fourth of the missionary funds used in France comes from abroad, not including in this statement the popular evangelistic missions of Mr. McAll, which are well known as a most earnest and successful system of city missions among neglected classes.

The "*Mission Intérieure*" is comparatively recent as to its origin, and has for its object a preparatory evangelism to open the door for the societies engaged in permanent occupation. It efficiently fills its place, and addresses many thousands every year who for their first time have heard the proclamation of the gospel by other than the priests. The "*Evangelical Society of Geneva*" has a number of stations in the south and southeast of France.

During the past ten years the Protestant Christians of France have multiplied their printing presses, and have doubled the circulation of their reading. Seventy-three Protestant religious papers are published in the French language.

In respect to schools. The attitude of the government on the whole makes for Protestantism. The government favoring Deism requires religious neutrality. This at least breaks the Papal power, which for centuries had time and opportunity to show what it could and would do, and which left to the Republic its legacy of thirty-seven millions of people, thirty-six and nine tenths per centum of whom could neither read nor write. At that time 10,000,000 of francs was the government aid to primary education. In 1882, 25,000,000 of francs were expended for this, and for all phases of instruction 114,353,941 francs. This is a wonderful gain. Five years will substantially educate a generation. The importance of this fact cannot be overestimated. It means a new France, and it shows us that this is not an ancient country in decadence like Spain.

The Protestants are guarding with care the religious education of the children and youth of the schools. The churches have an

<sup>1</sup> About fifty of these missionaries are "auxiliary" to the seven hundred and six pastors before mentioned, and must be added in our account of Protestant forces. A number of school-masters, also, evangelize on Thursdays and Sundays. They are a strength in the ranks.

important society to foster primary secular schools, and in them are earnestly providing for religious instruction. Each Thursday is a "rest day," the forenoon of which is commonly used in religious instruction, while these thus taught are collected in the churches once in a month on Thursday forenoon, and are catechized by the pastors. Thus whatever the intent of the government in disallowing any religious instruction, the result is to enlarge and quicken Christian zeal to secure for the youth of the Protestant families a sound religious education.

The Sunday-school system, which lately had scarcely an existence in France, is being earnestly developed with the aid of the "International" scheme of Bible lessons. These schools, however, sadly need a suitable literature, which most schools have not the means to obtain, and which indeed but to a limited degree could be found. The churches in their freedom and self-development are thus called to many new forms of service, to many responsibilities and sacrifices, which more favored brethren in other lands may wisely remember. There is a serious demand for good religious reading for young and old.

The view of the situation then is this: The impress of the original stamp upon the nation was strong. The inheritors of centuries of confirmed customs will not see past influences annihilated in a generation. It must be faith and patience which shall inherit the promises. At the same time, religion in France has a different meaning from the Protestant meaning. The original stamp has never reached the heart. Religion has been rather an exterior form than an interior conviction. It has been a political and state force under the claims of a divine sanction. It has not exalted the needy, nor been a blessing to the poor. There is, therefore, no inclination to Romanism now, beyond that which comes by the momentum of unthinking habit. But this unthinking habit is passing away. Those who never read before are reading. Those who never thought are trying to think. If the logic is not always good, it is altogether natural. The wonder is that it is no worse. If Romanism finds a reaction in atheism and in various forms of infidelity and socialistic philosophies, why should it not? It may not be altogether ill-omened. The pendulum of thought will swing towards a true faith. Atheism has no arguments, infidelity no satisfactions. They offer nothing. The French are human and have warm hearts. They have quick sensibilities. Being positive, they dislike cold negations. They are full of inquiry, and that which has arguments, and promises satisfaction, which is found to

make for good homes, domestic virtue, and national prosperity, does not, and will not, lack a hearing. Let it be remembered that Paris is not France, and the French are emphatically a people of homes and of loving families. They are not deaf to these appeals. While many of the upper classes are yet citadeled in conservatism and in ancient forms; and while trade and commerce dislike changes, and fear that which may break the power of feudalism and caste; and while millions of mothers think that to renounce Romanism means renouncing heaven; the fact remains that the mediæval ages have taken their final departure. The strange and manifold reactions of French history have yet, in the resultant, furnished a most impressive opportunity for Christian faith. The element which hates the very name of Rome as that of an oppressor and an enemy is large. That which laughs it to scorn is large. Those who remain loyal to it are everywhere running against interrogation points. Questions like flocks of pigeons fly through the air. In this condition of things, if Protestantism must indeed overcome many prejudices and win its way among those educated to distrust that which bears the name of religion, it yet does not suffer hate; it has the respect which sincerity begets; and it goes to those who love questions, saying, "Ask, and we will answer." That is a great advance from the time when Rome summoned kingdoms, and the only doubtful states were England and Sweden. When France first began to ask for the pure gospel, Rome had crowns at her feet. No sovereigns are now in her councils. France, her last hope in Europe, through her Protestant children, is now scattering a free Bible over the land. While millions are as ignorant of its contents as they are who live in the jungles of India, the gospel is increasingly preached to all classes, and with sincere fidelity. The political upheavals have been God's plowshares, to turn up the furrows for the seed of his kingdom. The blood of the martyrs has made the soil rich for the harvester.

As a government — whether or not the Republic shall remain — the people will remain. The eagle is out of its shell. It will not be again in its former confines. A fleet of ships is in the acorn. Those who criticise the French Republic do this disregarding history. The surprise should be that it does so well. Times of transition are of necessity times of anxiety. The monarchies of Europe seem to be interested to foment distrusts of republican institutions among them, and of all movements which relate to these. The sister republic of the United States should have hope and not fear. The more, because God is in providence. The people

to a marvelous extent are breaking with the past not unwisely. While confirmed customs are losing their confirmations, we may not exaggerate the attendant conditions. The old influences yield like the thick ice of a river in the spring-time. That which has been very solid needs but the atmospheric changes when all the streams behind it and the little rills hurry it on and away. If the ice may crack with the frictions, and the waters may unduly rise with the floods, this is temporary; we know that summer is coming.

Taking account, therefore, of these things, of the past and the present, we may say without fear of question that France never had a like opportunity to receive the gospel, and the Christian world never had a more inviting field.

If Romanism dies slowly, it is yet in decline. If atheism puts forth strength, it has not the strength of God. If past influences have in some directions deadened conscience, and paralyzed the sensibility to the fact and nature of sin, if Christianity has been discredited in France, it is the same in all lands which have been blighted with Romanism. Sin blights all lands. It is the gospel which renews, purifies, and saves. If God can save Turkey and China, He can save France. Many indeed are the glorious names which tell us that the heart and head of this nation make most excellent soil for the gospel. It has shown us this people tenacious, constant, stable, strong, and great. The gospel is all that is needed to deepen French character and to make the nation a firm and strong power for Christ. We know well that it would be an aggressive power. In our missionary enterprises we should estimate nations, not by numbers, but by weight; we should measure conditions and influences. In the problem of winning the world to Christ, forty millions of people in France would outweigh an hundred millions in Turkey. A million dollars expended to save France would outweigh many times more used in Spain or Austria. It is the doors of an influential and forth-putting nation which have swung at last wide open. In its world-wide bearings, we who pray for the conversion of the world cannot afford to wait. It is an elect time for a strategic power. The problem is unique. These churches prepared by the discipline of suffering can furnish organized forces intent upon possessing the land. They have the consciousness that the mission of God is upon them. In their history, nationality, faith, and feeling, they are the ones to press the evangelization of France. They may receive impulse and help from without. They are ready to take lessons from larger mis-

sionary experience. They welcome sympathy in foreign laborers with gratitude and love, but they themselves, through their own missionary societies, agencies, and permanent institutions and churches, are the ones to meet this great and divine call. From their own race and their own ranks they must call their own teachers and preachers, and we may have no confidence in any methods or movements for the permanent powers which must do this deep and continuous work, which have not the organized forces of the faithful Huguenot churches behind them. It is most hopeful that in their numerical and financial weakness they do not shrink from this. Their courage is admirable. Some would call it optimistic. Some do call it chimerical. It is neither. It is faith in God's omnipotence working through human weakness. Their tragic and faithful past, their earnest and needful present, and their most hopeful future appeal for them. To help this Christianity in France in a most generous and in a systematic way is both the dictate of a grateful love, and the wisdom of a Christian fidelity to the commanding call of Providence. Christian America is doing nobly many things. It may be questioned if our country, which has reason to remember how good saving help was in a critical struggle for our national life, could do a worthier or grander work than to return saving help for the spiritual life of a people which now needs to feel our heart as we felt its aforetime.

*A. F. Beard.*

## EDITORIAL.

## SOCIAL CLASSES IN POLITICS.

AMERICAN politics have thus far encountered but one serious danger, that from sectionalism. Race and religion, the disturbing factors of older states, have not yet disturbed or modified to any extent our institutions. Possibly they may not. We have the right to trust much to the completeness of the separation of church from state, and to the absorbing and dominating power of the Anglo-Saxon among the races.

Our immediate political dangers are evidently to come in some form from our material prosperity. One danger from this source has recently been brought to light in unmistakable clearness. In the late political campaign in Massachusetts, the attempt was made, the first avowed and organized attempt, to introduce the workingman into politics as representing a social class. The appeal was continually made to the class feeling thus aroused; and intimations were given that if the attempt was successful, the policy would be extended throughout the country with a view to the presidential election.

It is not our purpose to discuss ordinary questions of local or national politics. We call attention to the issue thus raised because of its moral significance, and because we fear that the moral significance of it will not be fairly estimated. In a personal campaign too much is attributed to mere personality. The personal element is really strong only as it represents something. Dangerous men are dangerous as popular leaders, because society gives them the conditions in which to do their work. No man can extemporize a party for his own benefit. No man can create the reasons, or even the conditions, which make parties. All that the most ambitious, or skillful, or magnetic man can do, is to intensify and organize an existing sentiment or prejudice, of which he is the first to discover the personal or political uses. The national significance of the Massachusetts campaign is to be found not in its personalities, but in the fact that class feeling was introduced in a manner and to an extent before unknown, as a determining influence in American politics.

And if now the question be asked whether the political use of this influence is to be continued and extended, the answer must be made that nothing can prevent its continuance and extension, if class feeling itself is suffered to grow and become embittered. Given the material, the use of it is simply a matter of time.

Viewed in the light of this possibility, the relations of capital and labor are seen to be more than economic. Society is legitimately concerned with the conduct of employers, and with the sentiment of the employed, if any grievance, real or supposed, is to be made the foundation of a



political party It is to be carefully noted that class feeling is connected not with work, but with employment. It is the employed class, not what is termed the working class, which furnishes the material for social and political agitation. Practically class feeling is associated with the development of the mechanical industries and with the growth of corporations.

*Can the element of class feeling be kept out of politics? Which is but asking whether it can be so reduced that it will cease to be a temptation to politicians?*

Evidently the producing class, in all the industries, ought to be a unit as against its natural foes. The producer, of whatever degree, can have nothing in common with the idle, the vagrant, the ignorant, and the vicious. But the combination may be made, unnatural as it is, between the producer in labor and these very classes. The workingman may be brought for a time into an alliance with his natural foes. Why is this? Perhaps a sufficient reason is that to the mind of the workingman the choice is not so plain or single as it may seem to others to be. He sees idleness and vice above him as well as below him. And labor will always unite with idleness in poverty sooner than with idleness in riches, with vice in poverty sooner than with vice in riches. Nothing is more irritating to the man in the daily struggle for bread, or to the man reaching out toward a competence, than the sight of profligate, or ostentatious, or even indolent wealth. Any honest endeavor, therefore, for the suppression of class feeling must be accompanied by those habits which can give it moral support. No successful appeal can be made to the workingman as against any unnatural alliance on his part, such, for example, as that with the rumseller, except as the appeal can be enforced by the plain virtues of temperance, charity, honest work, and respect for the public good.

Something, too, is to be thought of in respect to the disposition and methods of the managers and agents of corporations. A corporation is an invisible force. The capital which supports most of the manufacturing towns is non-resident. The agent is the authoritative representative. How much depends upon him, upon his character, his bearing, his ideas in respect to men, as well as his knowledge of his business, any one familiar with a manufacturing town well understands. He can be a greater moral power than a church. He can also be a demoralizing and irritating force in a community. Within recognized limits he can elevate or depress labor. He can train the men under him to habits of self-respect and toward public spirit, or he can humiliate them, arouse their prejudices, repress the natural instincts toward good citizenship, and force them into unhealthy combinations. And society, it may be repeated, has the right, if labor is to be made a factor in politics, to concern itself with the representatives of capital.

Beyond these moral considerations, which may be fairly said to be nega-

tive for the reduction of class feeling, thought must be given to the maintenance of the American idea and ambition in respect to labor. The English workingman aims at coöperation. From the nature of his surroundings he can expect nothing beyond this. The American workingman aims at proprietorship, or its equivalent. True, the great majority can never satisfy this ambition, but the large possibility remains, which acts as an incentive, not only to the few, but, indirectly, to the many. And, notwithstanding the growth of corporations, the number of independent proprietors is still very large. In some localities the number is increasing. And it is to be observed in regard to these independent proprietors, that capital is now in the hands of men who have risen from the ranks, or in the hands of their sons. In scarcely any instance can capital be found to be at the remove of more than a generation from labor. Maintain this ambition of the American workingman toward proprietorship, and leave the way reasonably open to him, and the formation of a social class, based upon employment, is made impossible on any large scale. The elements which would make up such a class are not at rest long enough to congeal into a caste. Neither can they be reduced to such uniformity that they can be manipulated to merely personal or partisan ends. And among those who cannot expect to reach proprietorship in business, as among the employees of a great manufacturing corporation, the facilities are still large for proprietorship in land. As a matter of fact, the corporations of the Merrimack valley have graduated no inconsiderable number of their Irish laborers into small but independent farmers, and the process is still going on.

The great reliance, however, in attempting to reduce class feeling among operatives to its lowest limits, must be placed upon a fair and intelligent understanding between the parties concerned in production. Why should the discussion of business questions, or of questions vitally affecting business, be left to politicians? Why should the politician, rather than the man of business, have the ear and confidence of the workingman? Let the principles and methods which underlie a given industry be fairly discussed between employers and employees. Argument here is worth much. Perhaps personal contact is worth more. Class feeling thrives upon separation. Bring together the parties concerned, show the interests which are common to both, establish a *business unity*, and all social distinctions will prove useless for political ends. The politician cannot break the ranks of capital and labor if capital is respectful toward labor. Recognition is what the workingman asks for, — the recognition of his intelligence, of his good sense, of his personal interest in the business. The politician recognizes these qualities in the workingman. He addresses him as a citizen. No other kind of recognition will avail on the part of the capitalist. Capital may listen patiently to his grievances. It may take the initiative, and devise ways for his personal and social improvement, But this is patronage. It may become

charity. What is wanted is more business intercourse between capital and labor, a better understanding of the mutual interests involved, a more honest and hearty endeavor to create a real unity among the productive classes, as against the dangerous classes in society.

Doubtless the remedy for this state of things is to be found, not in one, but in many directions, but the danger cannot be too quickly or too carefully considered. Politics is a mould in which whatever is cast in heat straightway becomes set. And if class feeling is to be cast into this mould, in the heat of a general political campaign, it may henceforth be considered a fixed quantity in American politics.

#### THE "ENRICHMENT" OF PUBLIC WORSHIP.

THE recent convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church proposed to the dioceses certain changes in the order and forms of worship. During the three years which intervene before the next convention there will be much discussion of liturgies in that branch of the Church. Surprise is felt because the proposed alterations will not have the effect of shortening the service. The demand for a change sprung from impatience with the length of morning and evening worship, but it is recommended only that certain improvements and enrichments be incorporated. While the restoration of several ancient forms which were either mutilated or omitted when the present Prayer Book was compiled is a decided gain, that which is felt by the mass of worshipers to be a defect is not remedied. For the next six years, at least, the devotional services of the Lord's day will be as long as ever.

That so much of the time of the convention was given to discussing minor changes in the Prayer Book reminds us anew that dignity of form and of diction in worship is the secret of the attraction of the Episcopal Church. That Church has learned the importance of ministering to a refined taste and of cultivating a devout spirit, and knows that even uncultivated people are impressed by dignity and reverence in worship.

It cannot be questioned that in other denominations worship needs enrichment. Too much is left to the devotional culture of the minister. Too little is made of the devout participation of the congregation. Since it is true that the spirit and diction rather than the prescribed forms of worship are the sources of strength in the Episcopal Church, it follows that other churches may enrich their worship, not by borrowing details, but in accordance with the genius of their own history and custom.

A service which has place for unwritten prayers has richest capabilities. Its dangers are more than compensated by its spontaneity and flexibility. This is the characteristic of non-liturgical churches that the prayers are not by the book. In this respect the devotional culture of the preacher must be trusted. But worship is enriched when the congregation makes audible use of devotional portions of Scripture by responsive

reading or preferably by chanting, of the Lord's Prayer, and above all of the best religious music.

The musical part of worship has become barren by the use of dragging, mechanical tunes, or paltry by the use of jingles and boisterous refrains. The introduction of the noble compositions of Barnby, Dykes, Monk, Sullivan, and others, and of the majestic chorals of Germany, would transform the character of worship by a simple and practicable method.

There is no better conception of what is needed than that which is expressed by this word enrichment. The worship of all churches needs not so much to be revolutionized or even adorned as to be enriched.

More extended treatment of the subject may be looked for in future numbers of the Review.

#### GERMAN BIBLE REVISION.

THE first copy of the Revised German Bible was presented to the Emperor in Berlin on the four hundredth anniversary of Luther's birthday. The earliest official suggestion of such a revision, according to Dr. Düsterdieck,<sup>1</sup> — to whom we are indebted for much of the information used in this note, — proceeded, in 1856, from a district synod in Baden, which requested the High Consistory at Karlsruhe to make overtures to the Evangelical Conference at Eisenach for the appointment of a commission. This initial movement failed. But it was soon revived from another quarter, and in a different form. In the same year the representatives of ten Bible societies held a conference, and voted to request all such associations in Germany to unite in securing a common text of Luther's translation. They arranged also for further consultation in connection with the next Church Diet. It was stated that there were at least six texts in circulation which varied from the Halle or Canstein text. Professor Riehm subsequently gave the number in use as about eleven. The variations were not merely formal, but affected the sense. In Dr. Mönckeberg's tabulated synopsis, which gives the more important of these different readings, they fill one hundred and thirty-five quarto pages. In 1857, from fifty to sixty representatives of the societies met, at the Diet, and decided that a revision of the text, or a recension, should be made on the basis of the one published by the Institution founded at Halle by Baron von Canstein,<sup>2</sup> and that this Institution should take the lead in the movement; also, that the Evangelical Conference at Eisenach should be requested to establish a commission. Dr. Nitzsch, the well-known theologian, advocated a revision of the translation, but it was

<sup>1</sup> Die Revision der Lutherischen Bibelübersetzung. Zur Verständigung der Kirchengemeinen. Von Dr. Fr. Düsterdieck, Oberconsistorialrath. Hannover, 1882.

<sup>2</sup> In 1881 this Institution published its three hundred and seventy-third edition of the German Bible.

thought that the time had not come for this, though its necessity was recognized. A similar meeting, at the next Diet, 1858, approved of the plan that the work of recension should be conducted under the direction of Dr. Mönckeberg of Hamburg, Professor v. Raumer of Erlangen, and Dr. Frommann of Nuremberg. Dr. Mönckeberg has been for many years a pastor in Hamburg, and is connected with its Bible society. The others named, especially Dr. Frommann, are eminent specialists in the German language, particularly in the vocabulary and idiom of which Luther is the recognized master. It was further voted that a specimen of the proposed recension should be issued. The movement thus begun naturally pressed against its prescribed limits. Private revisions appeared. Dr. Mönckeberg pointed out seventy-five passages which needed either clarification or positive correction. The Canstein Institution asked counsel of the Oberkirchenrath (High Consistory) of Berlin. This body replied, April 17, 1861, approving a recension, but not a revision of Luther's text. It brought the matter, however, to the notice of the next conference at Eisenach (1861); and one of its delegates, Dr. Nitzsch, proposed that manifest errors in the translation should be indicated by corrections under the text, in pearl type. The conference, — through the Canstein Institution, in order to avoid any appearance of official direction, — referred the latter's memorial to the Consistory to the higher authorities of the various evangelical churches, for the purpose of eliciting expressions of opinion. Recension rather than revision was still the main thought. Four replies came in, two from Wurtemberg, one from Dr. Nitzsch, and one from the University of Rostock. The latter opposed any change other than a restoration of the text to the form given in Luther's final edition (1545). The other opinions were favorable to a very limited amount of revision. Dr. Nitzsch thought that the New Testament alone should first be dealt with, and that the Old Testament should wait until there should be greater clearness and adjustment of opinions. At the next conference (1863), a committee appointed two years previous, consisting of Dr. Ernesti of Wolfenbüttel, and Dr. Dorner of Berlin, reported in favor of amendment of the translation as well as improvement of the text. An earnest and protracted discussion followed. Dr. Niemann of Hanover and Dr. Kliefoth were specially urgent in opposition. Another Hanoverian, Dr. Brüel, made an influential speech, in which he maintained "that recognized errors in the translation should no longer be circulated, but should be corrected; that the difficult but indispensable task was to establish a text true to the sense, and universally intelligible, though not in all respects verbally accurate; that as the existing translation had not arisen through any formal authority of the Church, the revision should not be taken in hand directly by the conference, or the ecclesiastical rulers, but only indirectly; that is, by providing means and leisure for men fitted for the required labor." These sentiments prevailed, and the recommendations of the committee

were adopted. These approved of a recension of the Canstein text, which was accepted as a *textus receptus*, and of a revision of "the comparatively few passages, at first of the New Testament, whose alteration might seem to be necessary and unobjectionable in the interest of the understanding of Scripture." The execution of this scheme was left to the mediation of the Berlin Consistory, and the Canstein Institution. Further efforts followed to ascertain the disposition of the ecclesiastical authorities in the different German states where the various Bible institutions are located, and finally by the higher church officers in Prussia, Hanover, Saxony, and Wurtemberg, a commission was established for the revision of the New Testament, which met, for the first time, in Halle, September, 1865. The members selected were Professors Nitzsch, Twesten, Riehm, Beyschlag (Prussia); Drs. Meyer and Niemann (Hanover); Professor Brückner and Pastor Ahlfeld (Saxony); Drs. Schröder and Frommüller (Wurtemberg). They were assisted in all questions of usage and idiom by Drs. v. Raumer and Frommann, and by the careful textual labor of Dr. Mönckeberg. Upon the withdrawal of Dr. Nitzsch, Professor Köstlin took his place. In 1867 a "proof-edition" of their work was published for the purpose of obtaining expressions of opinion respecting it. In 1868 the commission, with the light thus obtained, made a further revision, which was published in 1870, and has now passed through about sixty editions. In 1868 a committee, of which Dr. Dörner was chairman, reported in commendation of this revision to the Eisenach Conference, and that body thereupon expressed its substantial agreement with the result of the commission's labors, and, in 1870, resolved in favor of the appointment of a similar, though larger commission for the Old Testament. It was composed of Professors Dillman (whose place was soon taken by Superintendent Hoffmann), Tholuck, Schlottmann, Riehm, Kleinert, and Kamphausen (Prussia); Professor Bertheau and Dr. Düsterdieck (Hanover); Dr. Clausen (Holstein); Dr. Ahlfeld (whose place was subsequently filled by Pastor Kühn), Professors Delitzsch and Bauer, with Dr. Thenius (Saxony); Dr. Schröder, Superintendent Kapff, Pastor Grill, Professor Diestel, and, after the latter's death, Professor Kübel (Wurtemberg); Professor Grimm (Province of Saxony). This commission has, from time to time, given to the public specimens of its work, for the sake of eliciting opinions, and other contributions that might be of service. In 1873 Dr. Riehm published for the commission a tentative revision of Genesis, together with proposed changes in Isaiah; and, in 1882, an Easter programme on certain Messianic passages of the Old Testament. In 1876 Dr. Schröder published—with corrections in Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth—the proposed revision of the Psalms; and, in 1882, Lic. Kühn that of Ezekiel's vision of the Temple. The public were invited to examine the results which had been reached, and suggestions and criticisms were earnestly invited. The revision of



both Testaments is now issued, but still, as respects the Old Testament, not as a finality. The aim is to secure as general coöperation in the final revision as may be practicable; to make it representatively a work not only of the scholarship and literary skill, but of the practical piety also of the entire Protestant Church. The revisers have kept prominently in mind that the Bible is a book for the unlearned as well as for the cultivated, for public worship as well as for private meditation, and that it should speak the language, as Luther says, of the mother in the home, the children on the street, the common man in the market, so that they who hear it will perceive that it speaks German with them. In necessary changes the greatest pains has been taken with diction, idiom, and rhythm. The Canstein parallel references, marginal explanations, headings of chapters (mostly as given in the Stuttgart Bible of 1866), have been partially revised, particularly as required by changes in the version. Throughout, the wants of ordinary readers have been steadily kept in view, as they were by Luther. And, in submitting their work, the revisers appeal to men of this class, as well as to scholars, for judgment upon it, and aid in perfecting it. Says Dr. Düsterdieck, "The greater, the more difficult and delicate a matter is the revision of the Bible, the less can we expect a rapid and unanimous recognition of our work. Every serviceable, well-grounded judgment will be thankfully received by the commission, and carefully weighed, before, at the third reading, the final conclusion is reached. It seems to me to be of the highest consequence that we receive judgments upon our work from unlearned readers of the Bible, out of their pious hearts and spiritual experience. May Christian fathers use the revision in family worship, . . . may faithful readers of the Bible make themselves familiar with the new edition, and then tell us whether they have, or have not found in the emendations a help to a fuller, deeper, more certain understanding of the Divine Word."

There are some in Germany, even among the revisers, who think that the revision has not gone far enough. Dr. Kleinert, in an address, of which an account is given in "The Catholic Presbyterian" for October, indicates that the difference of opinion on this point "corresponds to a difference of *locality*; the revisers belonging to the East and North inclining to the more conservative side, while those belonging to the South and West, the divines of Wurtemberg and the Rhineland, would have preferred a more thorough revision." The writer adds this suggestive comment: "This is not a little significant in view of the fact that the churches of Wurtemberg and Westphalia are precisely those most distinguished for practical energy in Christian work. The loudest call for Bible revision, either in Germany or elsewhere, does not come from the circles in which literary and scientific interests are supremely valued. On the contrary, it is in communities pervaded with the profoundest sense of the divine inspiration and authority of the Scriptures, and their in-

finite value for the salvation of souls, that there is to be found the strongest sense of the duty lying on the Church to put her children in possession of the most perfect attainable version of the Bible."

#### AMERICA'S IMPRESSIONS OF MATTHEW ARNOLD.

MATTHEW ARNOLD, not long ago, recorded his impressions of America without having seen America. Now that England has lent to us the master literary critic of his times, and he has actually stood and spoken in the midst of us, it is a matter of no small interest to inquire concerning America's impressions of Matthew Arnold. An English writer, well acquainted with Mr. Arnold's manner and method in Poetry and Criticism, prophesied that our new English guest would "pique and tantalize the intelligent curiosity" of the Americans who should crowd to hear him, as few Englishmen have ever piqued or tantalized it before. The ground of our pique, according to this prophet, lies in the conflict between Mr. Arnold's pessimistic creed and his poetic buoyancy as a seer. We are to find him "undermining for us our best hopes, and yet gazing with a look of radiance, such as Emerson himself could hardly have put on, towards the new heavens and the new earth, not of his creed, but of his poetic day-dream." Cassandra's warnings have been uttered. Was the home-made prophecy a true one?

It is not too early to answer the question, for Mr. Arnold has said to us all that he intends to say in public. He has presented himself in but two aspects of his self-appointed function as a public teacher through criticism, — one, in his ordinary rôle of the student and censor of literature, society, history, philosophy, and science, in his lectures on Numbers, Literature and Science, and Emerson; the other, in the unusual character of a public reader of his own poetry. The published title of his opening lecture was the first thing to pique the curiosity of the good people of New York. What was the significance of "Numbers"? Those who crowded Chickering Hall to hear him were tantalized to exasperation because they did not hear him. Excepting to the three rows of listeners nearest the speaker, the subject of the lecture might have been Deuteronomy. The audience quickly discovered that to her inarticulate-speaking literary men England had already sent over, in the persons of Froude and Freeman, she had added a third, and the worst speaker of the three. These lecturers seem to be ignorant of the truth that the chief thing in public speaking is *speaking*. Mr. Arnold's failure to meet the simplest technical conditions of good public address was aggravated by an awkwardness of platform manner in consequence of his extremely defective eye-sight, and the ill-arranged light upon the stage. The disappointed ones might have consoled themselves by mentally contrasting with the speaker of the evening America's foremost literary critic and man of letters, and also one of her most accomplished public speakers,

her minister to the court of St. James — Mr. James Russell Lowell — who, as English authorities declare, cannot be matched as a speaker by any living literary man in England. This was Mr. Arnold's first experience before a popular audience. His efforts in speaking hitherto had been academic in character and surroundings. Instead of succumbing to his defeat, Mr. Arnold manfully concealed his chagrin, and courageously set to work to remedy his most important defects as a speaker. In nearly all of his subsequent platform addresses he has been heard distinctly and with pleasure. This experience has taught over again the lesson that, even in delivery at threescore, it is never too late to mend.

The lecture on Numbers is practically a sermon on the Power of the Remnant, preached from a double text: Isaiah's affirmations concerning the righteous remnant as the saving element in Israel, and its New Testament commentary in Paul's injunction to the Philippians: "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, just, pure, lovely, of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things." Majorities are bad; they are unsound. The remnant that is to save all national life and gradually transform it is the enlightened and conscientious few who embody in their lives, and directly and indirectly disseminate, the things that are true, just, pure, and of good report. The great want of Germany is civil courage; the great want of France is morality; the great want of England is lucidity; and the great defect of our republic is disobedience, want of respect, and exaggeration. But there is power in the large remnant amongst our fifty millions to save the nation. The remedy lies in greater activity in righteousness. Unceasingly multiply the numbers and efficiency of the remnant. This doctrine struck us not as new, but as true. We discovered no undermining of our best political hopes; and yet we wished that, after sounding the alarm-bell so vigorously, he had been more specific in pointing out to the members of the hopeful American remnant before him, eagerly waiting on his broad and penetrating wisdom, definite applications of his doctrine for national well-being. Do not we, as well as the unsound majority in England, need lucidity? Amidst all the confusion of the elements in our social and political life, is there not the great necessity for the discipline of ideas? Would not Mr. Arnold be still more helpful if he could cherish in larger measure Emerson's hope for the unsound majority, and his wise sympathy for them? As a model of rhetorical art, in effectually lodging his subject in the minds of the audience, in the warp and woof of structure and style, the lecture was admirable. No one understands better than Matthew Arnold the use of structural emphasis through the skillful iteration of important ideas without wearying the listener or offending a sound literary taste. The oral quality in his style is rarely absent even in his remarkable essays. He says himself, that, in composing, he always keeps his audience before his mind's eye.

In his second lecture, "Literature and Science," Mr. Arnold essayed

to answer the living educational question so ardently discussed in America. In the training that human nature needs shall science be substituted for literature? His reply naturally was made from his point of view as a man of letters. Plato's ideas still rule, and education should be governed by the ideas of men like Plato. We need to relate all pieces of knowledge to beauty and conduct. Mr. Arnold enforced with great power and clearness his own conception of the office of culture, namely, disinterestedly to learn and propagate the best that has been known and thought in the world. Professor Huxley means by literature simply *belles-lettres*. Mr. Arnold means much more. Literature contains that which will enable us best to know ourselves and the world. A scientific education is too narrow for this. He afforded immense comfort to the defenders of the study of Greek in the present outcry against it. The English speaking race has a galaxy of great minds of its own; but the cultivation of Greek literature helps to supply the prime defect in English literature — symmetry of thought and expression. The time will come when women will know Greek as did Lady Jane Grey, and when our American girls will be studying it in the schools of the far West.

But it is in the lecture on Emerson that the eminent critic piques intelligent curiosity, utters the bravest words, shines the brightest in his luminous critical power, and suffuses his theme with the warmth and glow of earnest feeling and eloquent expression. To speak of Emerson as he does among the friends and worshipers of the American seer requires an heroic temper. The critic undoubtedly reversed the judgments of many admirers of the Concord philosopher by correcting them; and we believe that time will justify his estimate of his great master. As a poet, Mr. Arnold says that Emerson cannot meet Milton's test of poetry. Poetry must be simple, sensuous, impassioned. Emerson's poetry lacks directness, correctness, energy. He is not a great man of letters. His style has not the requisite wholeness of good tissue. Nor is he a great philosophical writer. He cannot build. Not with the Miltons, and Platos, and Spinozas, and Voltaires, can we rank Emerson. His relation to us is more like that of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. He is preëminently the friend and aider of those who would live in the spirit. His insight is admirable, his truth precious; but the secret of his effect is in his serene, beautiful, hopeful temper. Happiness in labor, righteousness, and veracity in the life of the spirit, joyfulness and eternal hope — that was Emerson's gospel. We cannot praise him too much, nor heed him too diligently. His essays are the most important thing done in prose during the century, as Wordsworth's work is the most important done in poetry. Emerson's work is much more important than Carlyle's. He has lessons for both branches of our race; for laden and laboring England, he shows for guidance his lucid freedom, his cheerfulness and hope; for his own dearly loved, great, intelligent, sensual, avaricious America, he shows his dignity, delicacy, serenity, elevation. In

no lecture has Mr. Arnold held his audience so closely in sympathy with his theme or with himself. Responses were frequently elicited, and all were held by a spell of enchantment.

As a reader of his own poems, Mr. Arnold modestly disclaims all intention of entering the field of artistic vocal expression. He simply responded to the wish of many of his admirers that he would "lend to the rhyme of the poet the beauty of his voice." But perfect as is the metrical rhythm of this poet, and full of spirituality and tender sentiment as is his musically expressed thought, there is no beauty in his voice. His faults in the delivery of prose are intensified in the delivery of poetry. One naturally expects to find some inner harmony between the creating spirit of the author and the form of expression in its rhythmical diction and the speech-tunes of his voice. But there is no interpreting power in Mr. Arnold's reading of his verses. No revelations of subtle meanings appear in modulations born of closest sympathy with poetic thought and feeling, so that the utterance becomes a suggestive commentary, lighting up the interior sense of the poet. His manner is that of a quiet, genial, scholarly gentleman, who ministers to the enjoyment of his assembled friends by indicating the intellectual qualities of his work, touched with a gentle glow of feeling, but keeping the tint of vocal coloring a neutral one throughout the reading of his varied selections. And yet there was a certain fascination growing out of his personality that held the gratified attention of his audience. It was pleasant to catch self-revealing glimpses of the man's heart. After hearing *Thyrsis*, and the *Elegy* on a pet dog, who could resist the feeling that Mr. Arnold's nature was not only tender but affectionate? In this unconventional line of effort he furnishes a new illustration of the distinctness between the gift of literary expression and the gift of vocal expression in the interpreting function of delivery. Shakespeare was a poor actor, but no one has ever better expressed the true theory of the representation of character and sentiment than he in Hamlet's golden advice to the player. The wonder about Dickens's public readings was the combination, in so high a degree, of the gifts of the creator and personator of so many diverse characters.

In none of his public utterances before American audiences has Mr. Arnold shown himself as a reformer of theology. He rigorously abides by the purpose avowed in his "Last Essays on Church and State" to speak no more in direct terms on these themes, but to return to his proper field of literature, and do indirectly there what he can for Church and State. He is wise in his fidelity to this resolution. For, while he has made even theology entertaining, he does not possess the instincts and training of a theologian. The application of the literary method in judging the Bible and the works of theological science has landed him in bewildering inconsistencies with himself. With all his consummate ability, he failed to accomplish the task of reconciling the religion of the Bible with the rejection of the supernaturalism of the Bible. It was a failure in "lucid-

ity," and the task is impossible, both in appearance and reality. But while we criticise his method and deplore his results, we cheerfully admit the nobility of his aim to make the Bible better understood, and admire the power, ingenuity, and originality of his work. He clings to the real Bible. He has a profound, practical, and unwavering sympathy with its religious teachings. No man has written with more force and beauty on the true character of Hebrew prophecy, and in his exposition of the method and secret of Jesus there is scarcely anything that is not profoundly true, and all of it is most finely and delicately expressed. Mr. Arnold's criticism of the theological aspects of the Bible is no tea-table criticism. He is a man to be answered, and not to be ignored or laughed at; and he has been successfully met by able men, who have recognized in him an antagonist worthy of the best powers of their controversial steel.

Regarding Mr. Arnold's work in America as a whole, we find that the total effect is literary and ethical. He is still no more to us than what he has been — the gifted, polished, gently ironical, and yet genial instructor in letters and conduct; but he has failed to arouse enthusiasm as a speaker, or as a master in political science. We find, too, that we are not piqued and tantalized by any mixture of a hopeless creed and hopeful poetry. The half-satirical prophet who put us on the *qui vive* in this respect evidently forecast Mr. Arnold's work in America as the shadow of an unsatisfactory piece of work that he once built in England. The "negative lucidity," which wrought such incomplete and unsatisfactory results in theology, has found scarcely an application in his addresses in America. He is diligently studying our public school system, our social life, and public men, under competent guidance; and we confess that what most piques and tantalizes our curiosity is what Mr. Arnold's impressions of America will be after he has carefully reflected upon his newly-acquired data, gained, according to his own canon of criticism, by looking directly at America and seeing her as she really is. His after-thoughts will be racy, instructive, and, most likely, irritating reading. But it will always be a pleasure to associate the face, voice, and figure of the sincere, unaffected, and most courteous English gentleman and scholar with his words, as we continue to read the writings of this master of charm among the foremost literary workmen of the present age. We welcomed him to America with cordiality; we shall part from him with regret; and remember him with grateful pleasure.

— The fact stated by the Rev. Dr. Jewett that not one of the Associate Founders of Andover Theological Seminary was a member of a Christian church will doubtless excite in some minds surprise. It is not without significance in relation to certain recent discussions. It has a wider interest as opening a deeply pathetic and unwritten chapter in the religious history of New England. The earlier and greater confessions of our



fathers stand in marked contrast with the working theory of church membership of a later day, and with its one-sided individualism and subjectivism. Baptized children were regarded as members of the visible Catholic Church of Christ, although full communion with any particular church, it was held, requires a personal and public confession. And the Cambridge platform affirms in beautiful and perfect harmony with the teachings and spirit of Christianity: "The weakest measure of faith is to be accepted in those that desire to be admitted into the church, because weak Christians, if sincere, have the substance of that faith, repentance and holiness, which is required in church members; and such have most need of the ordinances for their confirmation and growth in grace. The Lord Jesus would not quench the smoking flax, nor break the bruised reed, but gather the tender lambs in his arms and carry them gently in his bosom. Such charity and tenderness is to be used, as the weakest Christian, if sincere, may not be excluded nor discouraged."

— In this connection we take pleasure in noticing a letter recently received by a Congregational church from a sister church. We omit names.

*The — Congregational Church — — — to the Church in —.*

DEAR BRETHREN, — We hereby certify that — — — is one of the baptized children of this church. And as such, we cordially and prayerfully commend her to your watch and care.

Wishing you grace, mercy, and peace,

In behalf of the church,

— — —, Pastor.

— The Rev. Dr. Beard's article, prepared by special request for this Review, on "The Huguenot Churches and the Religious Condition of France," brings together a mass of facts never before collected and set in the same relationship. They have been gleaned from many fields and much personal observation and inquiry in different parts of the country. Its author made the acquaintance of pastors of the Vaudois among the Hautes-Alpes, who said that no American pastor had before visited them; examined their theological schools and missionary schools; attended the socialistic gatherings of infidels; and put himself in full communication with men best qualified to furnish trustworthy information respecting the various agencies which are determining the religious and moral condition of the people. We commend his statements to thoughtful consideration.

## THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

## NOTES FROM THE ORIENTAL CONGRESS AT LEIDEN.

THE Sixth International Congress of Orientalists was held in Leiden, Sept. 10-15, 1883, and brought together more than two hundred scholars from various parts of the world. Probably no more successful meeting has been held since the first organization of the Congress at Paris, in 1873. According to a good custom, the management of the body was intrusted to a committee belonging to the country where the meeting was held; the officers were all from Leiden. Professor Kuenen was President, Professor Kern, Vice-president; the Secretaries were Professors De Goeje and Tiele, and among the other members of the committee were such well-known men as Land and Oort. It would be easy to speak at length about these gentlemen; and the tireless energy and unvarying courtesy with which they discharged their arduous duties cannot be too highly appreciated. The magistrates and citizens of Leiden, as well as the officials of the Hague and Amsterdam, joined with the representatives of Dutch learning in making the sojourn of so many strangers among them memorable for ceaseless and lavish hospitality.

The members came from near and far: Germany, Belgium, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Sweden, Norway, Russia, Austria, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Arabia, India, Ceylon, Java, America, all sent delegates, and there were members not in attendance from Servia, Algiers, Syria, and Japan. Holland was, naturally, more largely represented than any other country. Great Britain came next in order of numbers, and then France and Germany. The United States, with three members present, came far down the list, — at which, again, no one can be surprised.

Sight-seeing and feasting divided the time with the more serious work of the Congress; but though these pleasant things were of much interest at the time, they may be here passed over. For its real business the Congress was organized in five sections, the first of which was divided into two sub-sections. I. Shemitic section: (a.) Arabic; (b.) Other Shemitic languages. II. Aryan Section. III. African Section. IV. Section for Central and Eastern Asia. V. Malaysian and Polynesian Section. From the nature of the case, it was in the proceedings of Section I. that students of the Bible found the discussions in which they were most concerned. Section I., a, chose as its president M. Ch. Schefer, of Paris. The Vice-presidents were Professors Socin (Tübingen) and Goldziher (Buda-Pesth); the Secretaries, M. Guyard (Paris) and M. Snouck Hurgronje (Leiden). Section I., b, was officered by Professor Schrader (Berlin), President; Professors Robertson Smith (Cambridge) and Kautzsch (Tübingen), Vice-presidents; M. Carrière (Paris) and Mr. Rylands (London), Secretaries.

A few of the papers which were of value to Old Testament scholars may be mentioned. The first subject which occupied I., b, was the best method of editing the text of the Old Testament. The suggestions contained in Professor Oort's paper on this topic were simple, and related

chiefly to the disposition of various readings and emendations in the text and the margin, and the reason for noticing the matter here lies not in any special ability or judiciousness exhibited in the paper, but in the intrinsic importance of the subject itself. If there were any considerable mass of well-sifted and tested material ready to be edited into a critical Hebrew text of the Old Testament, then the considerations of Dr. Oort would be very well in place. But so long as this prerequisite is unfulfilled, the imperative need of a better text points in the direction of hard, patient, minute study of the documents upon which chief reliance must be placed in constructing it. These documents are the ancient versions. When we consider that we are only beginning to get a thoroughly prepared text even of the Septuagint, and that, for lack of encouragement, this is appearing without an *apparatus criticus*, it will be evident that years of unnoticed labor and unwearied comparison of results among workers in this field must precede any earnest attempt at a revision of the present Hebrew text. The emendations suggested in the exigency of his interpretation by this or that Old Testament exegete may be at times of value; but the work that clamors to be done in order to bring us as near to the original of the Old Testament as, thanks to an abundance of MSS. and generations of study, we have been brought to the original of the New, is a very different matter.

The variety of the topics discussed shows itself as we turn to a paper, read by Professor Tiele on the following day, on "The Goddess Ishtar." There is probably no man living who has thought so earnestly and written so powerfully on the history of the ethnic religions as Professor Tiele has done, and this brief paper contained a close and brilliant attempt to explain the Babylonian conception of Ishtar (אִשְׁתָּרִת, Ashtoreth, As-tarte) as a personification of the fruitful earth, and the mythological treatment of her hardships and triumphs in Babylonian poetry as at bottom an account of the fortunes of the earth, exposed to cold, darkness, and tempest, but emerging into the freshness and beauty of the spring.

Rev. J. N. Strassmaier (Widness, Lancashire, Eng.) gave an account of some Babylonian contract tablets which are preserved in the Museum at Liverpool. American scholars, who think chiefly of Liverpool as a place to arrive at and to leave, may be interested to hear of this new attraction in a city whose attractions are really not few.

Other papers in I., b, which deserve notice, but cannot be easily summarized here, were that by Professor Schlottmann (Halle) on the strophe in Hebrew poetry, those by Professor D. H. Müller (Vienna) on the broken plurals in the southern Shemitic languages, and on אֱלֹהִים and אֱלֹהִים in Sabea, that of Professor Oppert (Paris) on some new Babylonian inscriptions, those of M. Halévy (Paris) on "Assyrian Allography," — a new attempt to prove his untenable theory that the Akkado-Sumerian language is only Shemitic Babylonian with a different system of characters, — and on the Thamudite inscriptions; and in I., a, a paper by Professor Land (Leiden) on the Arabic Gamut, and a posthumous and unfinished paper by the late Professor Dozy (Leiden) on the religion of the Harranians.

Especial attention should be called to a carefully prepared essay by Dr. J. F. McCurdy (late of Princeton) on Permansive forms in Assyrian. Dr. McCurdy takes the ground — which he fortifies by ingenious argument and ample illustration — that the Permansive or Perfect forms

of Assyrian are developed, not out of the participle, as seems at first more natural, but out of the infinitive. The correctness of this interesting opinion must be a matter for future discussion.

Section I., *a*, furnished a suggestive contribution to Shemitic study in a plea by Professor Landberg (Stockholm) for greater attention to the spoken language of the Bedouins in studying the classical Arabic. Professor Landberg has spent much time among the Bedouins, and had with him in Leiden Sheikh Amir al-Madani, from Medina. He has found a most striking similarity between the language which the Bedouins now speak, and the literary Arabic, and is convinced that the former throws much light upon the latter. The preservation of the classic language, through so many centuries, in the mouth of the denizens of the Arabian wilderness, is a very remarkable fact, which the isolation of these tribes can only in part explain. It is a new proof of the persistence of linguistic phenomena in the Shemitic race; it suggests the likelihood that the spoken languages of the Hebrew and Assyrian peoples may not have differed very materially from the language of their documents, and it lessens from a new side the strain which is put upon belief by the view of those who still hold that the ancient Hebrew literature which is preserved to us covers a period of a thousand or twelve hundred years.

A single word, at least, seems to be due to Section III. (Africa), where Professor Lieblein (Christiania), and Dr. Golénischeff (St. Petersburg), presented communications not destitute of interest; the one especially for Biblical scholars, since it treated of the Egyptian religion; the other, for them in common with a wider circle, since in it the young Russian specialist discussed the origin of the alphabetic value of certain hieroglyphs. If, as is now generally — not universally — held, the Phœnician alphabet, and hence our own, was derived from the Egyptian hieratic, everything which bears on the appearance of germs of an alphabetic system within Egypt itself, claims attention from those who care for the origin of that process which we find it so hard to follow backward, but which has resulted in the culture of the Japhetic as well as the Shemitic race. In connection with this may be mentioned an animated discussion which took place in Section II. (Aryan) on the origin of the Indian (Sanskrit) alphabet. It was opened by a paper from Mr. Cust (London), deriving this alphabet from the Phœnician.

It is perhaps evident from the foregoing remarks that while nothing of exceptional novelty was discussed at the Congress, there was plenty of material for solid and serious debate.

The general advantages of such a gathering cannot now be dwelt on. They are such as the opportunity for the interchange of views and mutual stimulus between scholars, who otherwise might never meet; the opportunity for combining scholars in great scientific undertakings, and giving forcible utterance to the wishes of thoughtful students; and, for the city and country where the meeting is held, a considerable permanent impression and valuable impetus resulting from the presence of a large body of finely trained and enthusiastic men, who come — not to make money, nor to spend it, not to glorify themselves or congratulate each other, but — from a pure interest in language and literature and history, a genuine zeal in acquiring and imparting knowledge. It is these considerations which might well be emphasized, if we should ever have the prospect of entertaining the Oriental Congress in America.

*Francis Brown.*

STUDENTS' MISSIONARY SOCIETIES IN AMERICA AND GERMANY.<sup>1</sup>

THE fourth annual convention of the Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance met in Hartford, Conn., October 25, 1883. Three hundred and forty-five delegates, representing nearly thirty seminaries, were in attendance.

Papers were read upon "Lessons from the History of Missions," "Moravian Missions," "Departments of Foreign Missionary Labor and their Requirements," "Needs and Methods of Western Frontier Work," and "How to Arouse and Maintain Missionary Interest in the Churches;" and these subjects were discussed with a great deal of interest and spirit by the delegates. The actual work of missions was represented by several missionaries, who spoke of their fields, and of the difficulties and rewards of their labors.

Addresses were also made at the evening sessions by the Rev. A. J. Behrends, D. D., on "The Principle of Christian Missions;" the Rev. Richard Newton, D. D., on "Paul, the Model Missionary;" Prof. A. A. Hodge, D. D., on "The Call to Foreign Missions."

On Sunday afternoon the Rev. L. T. Townsend, D. D., spoke on "Old Testament Types of Orthodoxy and Liberalism, Micaiah and Zedekiah," — a theme whose connection with the objects of the Alliance we are unable to divine; and in the evening the delegates and a large congregation were addressed by the Rev. A. J. Gordon, D. D., on "Preparation for Service."

This abstract of the proceedings can give no idea of the enthusiasm that was in the convention itself, and which reached its height perhaps in connection with the powerful personal application of the principle and duty of missions which Dr. Hodge made.

The results of such gatherings, the interest excited in them and carried back by the members to their seminaries, ought to be apparent at what is after all the critical point in the work of Missions at home and abroad, — the supply of the right men in sufficient numbers. The Alliance is an agency at work in the right place. That the movement originated spontaneously among the students, and has been managed wholly by them, is encouraging. It is a hopeful sign that Foreign and Home Missions are regarded not as clashing interests, but as harmonious parts of one work. It is an indirect gain, which may some day be the direct gain of both Home and Foreign Missions, that a feeling of comradeship is developed among students of different denominations, and a disposition to treat denominational differences generously. Unless the writer is mistaken, it was the pretty strong feeling of the convention that if the young men directed what may be called denominational strategy, two or three Missionary Boards would not so often be contesting with one another the possession of a field too small to sustain more than one church, and that the waste of money, and the worse waste of men, would be stayed, if not stopped. These are hopeful things; we look for good to come of them.

There lies, however, in the very power of these conventions to rouse

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Fourth Annual Convention of the American Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance, Hartford, Conn., October 25, 1883. *Über die akademischen Missionsvereine Deutschlands. Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*, 1883, pp. 454-461.

enthusiasm to a high pitch the danger that a certain class of men will be swept away by the current, without fairly measuring their own ability. The question, "Am I called to be a missionary," is but one form of the fundamental question, "Where can I be most useful." And this is a matter for the soundest and most deliberate judgment, taking into view all aptitudes and disabilities. The less the disturbing factor of feeling, especially of epidemic impulse, enters into this judgment, the fewer failures and disappointments there will be.

From this point of view, as well as from others, it seems to us to be a mistake, although no doubt it is made upon principle, that the men who alone almost have an expert knowledge of what is needed in the missionary as well as of the needs of the field, the history and methods of missions, — the missionary secretaries and editors of the different churches — should not be asked to contribute of their knowledge. There need be no fear that such men would abuse the occasion in sectarian interests, and if the catholicity of spirit among the delegates is genuine there need be no fear of the suspicion.

From the statistical tables annexed to the Report of the proceedings of the convention we gather the following: There are connected with the alliance 52 seminaries and theological schools, 32 of which reported to the convention. In the 32 reporting seminaries there are 1707 students. Of the classes which graduated in 1883, 35 have entered, or are about to enter on foreign missionary work; 65 on home missions. These figures of course are only approximate, as the reports in this column are not complete.

The Report of the convention has been printed in very good form under the direction of Mr. C. H. Dickinson, of Yale Seminary, New Haven, Conn.

In connection with this Report, which brings before us the missionary activities of our American theological schools, it is interesting to read the account which Theo. F. Christlieb has recently given of the missionary societies in the German universities. Several of these missionary societies have been in existence for many years. (Berlin, *e. g.*, since 1824; Halle, 1842; Bonn, 1849; Rostock, 1860; Leipzig and Tübingen, 1868.) Others have been founded more recently. The whole number is now twelve.

Within the last two or three years there has been encouraging advance both in the number of universities on the list and in the membership and activity of the societies. The whole number of members in the winter term, 1879–80, was 201; in the winter term, 1882–83, 410. The largest societies are at Halle (60), Leipzig (57), Göttingen (50). Berlin has thirty-two members; Breslau — the smallest — nine.

By no means all the students of theology are connected with these societies. In Rostock the proportion is seventy-five per cent., Greifswald thirty-five per cent., Göttingen twenty-two per cent., while at Leipzig the proportion is only about eight per cent., and in Berlin seven. In Göttingen twenty per cent. of the members are from other departments of the University, but in most cases there are few, if any, but theological students. The societies at the different universities have no connection with one another. An alliance has been several times proposed, and the plan, including a constitution, annual meeting, prize essays, etc., but hitherto nothing has been accomplished in this direction.



The societies meet every two or three weeks, and their work does not differ materially from that of the missionary societies in American seminaries. There is usually an address or paper upon some subject of the history or theory of missions, sometimes by a student, sometimes by a missionary, a professor, or another who is qualified upon the subject.

There are two points in which we should see a difference. The first is that these societies interest themselves only in foreign missions, existing side by side with the more popular Students' Gustavus Adolphus Societies, which cultivate what we should call home missions. The other is, that hardly any of the members of these societies offer themselves for the work of foreign missions. That men of university education are needed as missionaries is an idea which gains ground slowly in Germany, and has hardly taken hold at all of the young men in the universities. And just here, it seems to us, lies the immediate work of these societies, and of those who have influence in them.

*George F. Moore.*

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#### ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

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—It was fitting that the sixth International Convention of Orientalists should hold its triennial session at Leyden in September last. The university once boasted names famous in these studies. Such were Drusius, for whom Cambridge and Oxford contended, and Erpenius, the most noted Eastern scholar of his time. We are glad to hear from Professor Francis Brown that three Americans were present in the city where once the Pilgrims sojourned. We trust that at Vienna, in 1886, the number will be tripled. If then America become the host of the Oriental Congress for 1889, there may well be expected to appear some fruits of American archæological scholarship. Meantime the proposition of the "Independent" of a Euphrates expedition is sagacious and patriotic. Fifty thousand dollars invested thus to-day will yield returns to art and letters, to science and religion, exceeding tenfold that investment at a tardier date. Why should not the Metropolitan Museum in New York take the initiative?

—At the sixtieth anniversary of the Asiatic Society, held May 21, the Right Hon. Sir Bartle E. Frère in the chair, an interesting eulogy was read by M. Revillout on the great Egyptologist, M. François Joseph Chabas. M. Chabas's name is associated, to the Frenchman, with the decipherment of the obelisk of Luxor; to the Englishman, with the "Travels of an Egyptian" in the "Records of the Past." He was born at Briançon, and died at Versailles at the age of sixty-five. Brought up to business like Schliemann, like Schliemann, too, he had a passionate taste for study, which at the age of thirty-five he was able to gratify by retiring to Chalons-sur-Saône and devoting himself to Egyptology. In four years he published "Notes Explanatory of Two Groups of Hieroglyphs." This swift acquisition was joined to vast productiveness. So valued a worker in his chosen field had he become in twenty years, that at the Oriental Congress of London, 1874, he was appointed member of the international committee for the publication of M. Naville's forthcoming *variorum* Edition of the Ritual. His "Harris-Papyrus on Magic" (published 1861) is still the classic on that theme. M. Revillout says,

"Setting aside only Dr. Birch and M. de Rougé, all the Egyptologists of Europe were his pupils." The marvel of his learning was that it was gained during the last half of his life, without travel, from his library of fac-similes, in the seclusion of a provincial town.

— M. Naville suggests Pithom. His identification of it with Tel-el-Maskhutah hangs fire. On the one hand Lepsius, in a recent number of the "*Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*," combats the new discovery that threatens to rob him of his site for Rameses. This on three grounds. (1.) The statements of Antoninus in his "Itinerary" respecting Thoum and of Herodotus respecting Patumos locate Pithom at the west end of Wady Tumilat, and this cannot be the same as Heroopolis twenty-four miles eastward, that is, Tel-el-Maskhutah. (2.) The necessities of the triple worship at *Heroopolis* to Ra, Rameses, and Tum. There must have been a Pi-Ra, a Pi-Rameses, and a Pi-Tum. But Pi-Ra = Heliopolis, and Pi-Tum = Patumos. Hence Tel-el-Maskhutah must be Pi-Rameses, the great frontier city of Rameses II. (3.) The name Heroopolis — city of heroes — is the same as an Egyptian word meaning "great of the strong ones" found on the site under discussion. From another point of view Rev. L. Dickerman, May 2, before the American Oriental Society, brings forward eight forcible objections to M. Naville's hypothesis. He presses the difficulty of finding a city near and rich enough to answer to Rameses, and to furnish gold for the golden calf. He asks why, if the buildings at Tel-el-Maskhutah were erected by Hebrews, were the bricks with the cartouche of Rameses I. without straw? He ends with the query, "granting that the fragment of a limestone statue belonged to the priest of Tum and his Pithom-temple was Succoth, how does that prove that the place where it was found was Pithom-Succoth, that the priest never lived anywhere but here, that his statue had never been carried from one place to another, when the obelisk in New York has been twice removed?" Mr. Dickerman's paper has won praise from so high an authority as Dr. Birch. On the other hand, R. S. Poole of the British Museum, in the "*Academy*" of September 22, argues against Lepsius that his Egyptian epithet belongs to a king, not a place, and that ar (store-house) refers to a city not of the fortress kind. He sees no difficulty in two Pithoms twenty-four miles apart. One could be specially designated as in parallel cases. Miss Amelia B. Edwards favors the same identification, as do Ebers and Maspero.

— M. Naville himself, in the "*Academy*" of October 6, calls attention to the fact that inscriptions are an authority no less weighty than Herodotus, and that monuments of every period from Rameses II. to Ptolemy Philadelphus are at Tel-el-Maskhutah. Pi-tum, or Ha-Tum (abode of the temple of Tum), or Thuku-Succoth, or both together, are common. The *naos* is dedicated to the god Tum-Harmakhis (Hormakku = the sun on the meridian), and contains a sphynx with human head. Succoth is also inscribed. So "good recorder of Pi-Tum, chief of the prophets of Tum, first prophet of Succoth," is a specimen of several inscriptions putting Pithom and Succoth together, — names which Lepsius does not deny to be identical. M. Naville says, also, (1) the place is great as a store-city, insignificant as a town; (2) the name Pi-Rameses never occurs; (3) a Pithom at either extremity of the nome is proved; (4) if Maskhutah be Rameses and Tel-Abu-Suleiman be Succoth, then the Israelites, in the first march from Rameses to Succoth, journeyed twenty-two miles

from east to west, turning their backs on the Red Sea. He bespeaks patience and promises fuller proofs. The Christian public will accord him, doubtless, a fair hearing, and meantime reserve its decision.

—Another Frenchman, M. Perrot, gives us a glimpse of Egypt and Chaldæa together. This in his paper before the *Académie des Inscriptions* of April 20 and 27, 1883. It is entitled "Art Comparison of Egypt and Chaldæa," and is understood to be the concluding chapter of volume ii. of the "*Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*," MM. Perrot and Chipiez, Paris. M. Perrot contrasts the land of the Euphrates with the land of the Nile to the disadvantage of the former in architecture. If equal in dimensions and in splendor, the temples of Chaldæa fell below those of Egypt in nobility. They lacked the sovereign and mysterious beauty of their rivals. The terraced towers might astonish by their bulk and please by their color. Yet they bore the seeds of their own decay in their very materials. Beside the majestic piles of Karnak they were colossal improvisations.

—M. Sarzec's late discoveries at Tel-Lo, in Southern Babylonia, furnish M. Perrot with a basis for a like antithesis between the sculpture of the two peoples. To be sure the balance is somewhat more even. Egypt shows purer lines and a greater delicacy and grace. Here is the unrivalled serenity of attitude and feature, whether in figurine or colossus. Chaldæa, on the other hand, excels in power of action and energy of model. The great qualities of force and fire are here in higher degree. More frankly anthropomorphic, too, is her Pantheon, undisfigured by head of hawk and crocodile that make hideous the Egyptian deities. But when we look at fidelity of likeness the scale turns the other way. The funeral customs of the Nile demanded good portraiture. Hence royal statues recognizable even by the foreigner after generations. No similar motive urged the Chaldæan chisel. Chaldæa was preëminent as a sculptor of dogs and lions, whose bodies were seen under the sunlight and free from trappings. Egypt was master as a sculptor of men and women, the muscular modeling of whose flesh and the undulating lines of whose forms no cumbrous drapery hid. For the want of study of the nude, Assyrian sculpture is a blighted bud. For the cultivation of it, all Egypt is a people of statues, emerging from the very tomb.

—French discoveries in Babylonia are beginning to excite English jealousy. It appears that the English firman under which Mr. Hormuzd Rassam worked has expired. The French firman has been renewed and enlarged. Abou-Hubba and other sites partially explored by Mr. Rassam, are to be visited by a French savant, with possible power to anticipate English work and break the completeness of English collections there. Should this occur the French might possibly forgive the British Museum for their possession of the Rosetta Stone.

—Meantime Mr. W. S. C. Boscawen, who has furnished a translation of the twelfth Izdubar legend in volume ix., and of the Tower of Babel in volume vii. of the "*Records of the Past*," has written the London "*Mail*" (Times) of August 3, 1883, a letter spurring the jaded English interest in Assyriological exploration. He deprecates the unfinished state of the excavations at Abou-Hubba. Here Mr. Rassam has restored the remains of a city founded 3800 years before Christ. The discovery of the Nabonidus inscription, and of fragments of sculpture like those found by M. Sarzec at Tel-Lo, shows we have here a city most ancient in a land of

ancient cities. Everything indicates that the site has been free from violent disturbance, and may yield other invaluable records. Sargon I. was the Romulus of Chaldæa. From his inscription is but a step to the rise of Semitic power in North Babylonia. This usurper king compiled the first great collection of Babylonian literature, and specially the huge astronomical work in seventy tablet volumes, known as the "Illumination of Bel." These works were in the library attached to the temple of his divine protectress, and in the city Agadhe, the Hebrew Akkad, one of the quarters of Sippara. At Abou-Hubba one hundred chambers of the edifice have been uncovered, two of which are record rooms. From these were obtained several thousand contract, fiscal, and legal tablets extending over the late Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian empire, and on into the time of the Seleucidæ.

—Mr. Boscawen specializes two points of interest as respects Sepharvaim and Cutha, from which Samaria was colonized. One is an inscription of Nabu-Abaddidin (B. C. 880), furnishing a code of sacrificial ritual and a series of annual festivals for the temple of the Sun-god, so closely resembling the Jewish Levitical law, that it points the reason why the Samaritans became so soon converts to Judaism. The second is drawn from Tel-Ibrahim, the ancient Kutu, the Cutha of the Bible. This was one of the chief necropoli of Babylonia. Its temple was dedicated to Nergal, the lion-headed death-god of the Babylonians, and seems likely to throw light on the vexed question of the Babylonian disposition of the dead.

—The foregoing appeal to the British public ends with an outlook toward more Eastern exploration still. This is on the ground of the Sarzeé statues and the historical and mythological inscriptions, telling of the Akkadian emigrants' journey to the plains of Shinar, through the provinces of Khuzistan and Kurdistan. Here Sir Henry Rawlinson is quoted as saying, "Layard, in his paper on Khuzistan, mentions twelve places in Elymais where cuneiform inscriptions are either known or are believed to exist, yet of this grand collection we have only two short and sadly copied specimens from Mal-Amir and Kul-Faroun." What a field does Elymais present to an enterprising archæologist.

—Sir Henry Rawlinson's acceptance of the approximate date of 3800 B. C. for Sargon the Great should not be forgotten. In a letter to the "Athenæum" of December 9, 1882, the substance of which is printed in the "Independent" of January 18, 1883, he gives the grounds for adopting this immense, and, at first sight, improbable chronology. Our readers will recall the discovery of the Nabonidus cylinder, by H. Rassam, on the site of Sippara, the Biblical Sepharvaim, and its decipherment by T. G. Pinches of the British Museum. Nabonidus, the last native king of Babylon, the inveterate antiquary, unearthed thirty-two feet below the surface the inscription on the foundation-stone of the Temple of the Sun, a memorial tablet of Naram Sin, son of Sargina, which he said had not been seen by mortal eye for 3200 years. Sir H. Rawlinson, a sober and cautious judge, accepts the figures. (1.) From the allusions in royal inscriptions to intervals of 60 to 1600 years, as if notorious. (2.) Because Berosus, in presence of the documents, after classifying the dynasties to 2400 B. C., names 86 kings of one line, extending from the Median Conquest to the Flood. Now, allowing 20 years to a reign, we have  $20 \times 86 = 1720$  years, which, added to 2400,

gives us 4120 B. C., a still older date than that in question. (3.) The Flood was an accepted historical epoch, and Sargina is named in close connection with it. The fact that he was deified later does not disprove his historic personality. For this is put beyond doubt by the summary of events on an astrological tablet, by Nabonidus's discovery at the Temple of the Sun, by an inscription of an alabaster vase found by the French in 1852, but lost in the Tigris afterward.

— The subject of the Deluge is revived further by a review of the second edition of Schrader's masterly "Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament" (Giessen, 1883). This appears in the October number of the "Studien und Kritiken," from the pen of Gustav Röscher. The writer calls attention to the far closer connection between the Biblical narrative and the Chaldean legend than Berosus had given some to suppose. The Hebrew knowledge of this legend by no means dates from the exile. Noah is already a well-known personage in Ezekiel and the second Isaiah.

— Even more, however, has the publication, by Dr. Paul Haupt, of the cuneiform narrative of the Deluge, in the same book, furnished the Assyriologist with facts of fascinating moment. No reader of it will wish to lessen Schrader's prefatory praise of the piercing insight and comprehensive learning of his coadjutor. On the contrary, he will be grateful that the last "Hebrew Student," now the "Old Testament Student," Chicago, contains an article on the same theme, from the same pen, and that Johns Hopkins University has now this brilliant investigator giving instruction to American students in Hebrew, Ethiopic, Arabic, and Sumero-Akkadian. The coming of such a scholar to our shores is an educational event of the happiest omen.

Another German, Friedrich Delitzsch, has been enriching the "Athenæum" with a series of seven papers, beginning May 5, 1883, on the "Importance of Assyriology to Hebrew Lexicography." He is severe in his strictures on the ninth edition of Gesenius's dictionary for its forcing Arabic meanings into Hebrew words, and for its slighting of Assyriological derivations and discoveries. According to him, the Rem of Job xxxix. 9, 10, is not the corresponding Arabic word *antilope leucoryx*. "This animal's home is only in the sands of Arabia and Africa. The Rem is the Ri-mu of the cuneiform inscriptions. He is the strong-horned, fierce-looking, wild bull, skilled in climbing mountains, whose colossal and formidable likeness was placed by the Assyrian kings before the entrance of their palaces, to ward off and terrify the approaching enemy." The Hebrew names for the months Dr. Delitzsch would have no longer saddled with Sanskrit, Persian, or even Hebrew etymologies. Of Babylonian origin, let them show their parentage. "Nisān, in Babylonian *nisānu*, the name of the first month, means, doubtless, 'start,' 'beginning,' from *nisu*, which is also the meaning of Tishri, in Babylonian, Tishritu, the first month of the second half of the year. Iyyār — in Babylonian, Airu, Aru, — means the 'bright month'; Adar — in Babylonian, Addaru, February-March, is the 'dull, gloomy month,' that time being specially rainy in Babylonia. The rainy season commences in Tēbēt, *i. e.*, December-January, the month of rain-showers, according to Sennacherib's graphic account (Sennacherib, iv. 75), for Tēbēt means the 'sinking in water' from *tūbū*." Two of the writer's many Scriptural revisions are of special



interest. One is Canticles ii. 1, where he reads the Hebrew equivalent to *chabatsillatu*, "I am the *reed* of Sharon and the lily of the valley." The other is Psalm xxiii. 2, "He causes me to *rest* beside the still waters," which he confirms by the standing side by side of *nahālu*, *nāchu*, and *rabātsu*, in the old Babylonian lists of verbal synonyms.

— The famous Shapira forgery, as far as connected with the British Museum, is summed up historically in the Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund, October, 1883. First appears a succinct narrative of the negotiations with the British Museum by M. Shapira. Following it are letters from M. Clermont Ganneau, who was the cause of the discovery of the spurious potteries offered to the German government, by the same dealer some years before, from Captain Conder, who was claimed falsely as a voucher for M. Shapira, and from Professor Sayce of Oxford. The last link in the chain of exposure is given by Dr. Ginsburg in his elaborate and convincing report to Dr. Bond, with reasons external and internal for esteeming the MS. a fraud concocted by several Jews who used the margins of synagogue scrolls for material and the Moabite stone for model.

— Rev. John P. Peters, Ph. D., who early in the year sent notes from abroad to the "Hebrew Student," and later was the author of some able articles in the "N. Y. Evening Post," on the "Study of Hebrew in American Colleges," has just read a paper on the "Babylonian Origin of the Alphabet," before the American Oriental Society, which attracted marked attention, although its leading positions did not command general assent.

— Professor G. D. Lyon, of Cambridge, the tireless and enthusiastic incumbent of the Harvard chair of Assyriology, is to represent American scholars on the staff of the new "Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung und verwandte Gebiete," Otto Schultze, Leipsic, publisher. Marc Bezold and Fritz Hommel, Privatdocent of the University of Munich, are the editors-in-chief, assisted by A. Amiaud and E. Babelon, both of Paris. The magazine is to be international in character. English, German, French, and Italian are the languages to be used by the writers. In scope it will treat of Babylonian and Assyrian research, including language and history. Under this general head we are promised the publication of shorter texts, palæographic, grammatical and lexical articles; Semitic and non-Semitic, geographical and historical papers on the countries of the Euphrates and Tigris, and investigations from the earliest sources in the religions, art, and culture of Western Asia. It is expected that Schrader will write in the opening number on the pronunciation of the sibilants in Assyrian, and Oppert on some recently discovered Akkadian monuments.

— On the 31st of October the Archæological Institute of America held a public meeting in Boston, at which reports were heard from Professor W. S. Goodwin, of Harvard, the first director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and Mr. J. T. Clarke, the leader of the expedition to Assos. From the excellent report of the "Daily Advertiser" of November 1, we draw the following: Professor Goodwin spoke of the school of the French government on Mount Lycabettus, thirty-seven years old, with M. Foucart for director; and of the German school, now in its tenth year, Professor Kohler director, an offshoot of the great institute founded by Bunsen and Niebuhr in the Capitol at Rome. The Ameri-



can school with eight pupils originated from Mr. Clarke's spirited letters on the classic remains still unexplored in Athens, and has been housed where its windows command a view of the broad Saronic Gulf, and the hills whence Agamemnon's signal fire flashed the tidings of the capture of Troy to Clytemnestra at Argos. The English, last June, met at Marlborough House to consider the expediency of forming a fourth school, and some twenty or thirty scholars, Mr. Gladstone at their head, urged that course; in consequence of which large subscriptions have since been made for the purpose.

— The excellent work done by the American students in Athens was next commented on, and the modern literary Greek was declared to differ less from that of Xenophon than the Greek of Xenophon from that of Herodotus. To be abreast of the other nations, America must have a permanent instead of a temporary director. On topographical and historical accounts, for knowledge of the best plans of travel in Greece, for acquaintance with the resources of Athens, ancient and modern, for the opening of the ruins, the libraries, the museums of the city to the students; and last, not least, for familiarity with the language of Greece and the work of the other schools, a resident chief is needed, who shall have the income of a professor in our American colleges. Professor Goodwin cited the fact that the choicest works of Greek art have been discovered within the present generation, and the most famous within the last five years, and believed, if an earlier start had been made, Boston, and not Berlin, might be visited for casts and photographs of the Hermes of Praxiteles or the Nike of Pæonius. Mr. Clarke then gave a vivid account of the work at Assos, in some respects ranking with that at Olympia. The agora, the bouleuterion, the cemetery, the baths, the temple, the gymnasium, the atrium, the sarcophagi, the vases, the mosaics, the glass were described, and it is hoped will be figured in suitable monumental volumes. The Rev. Phillips Brooks offered the final resolutions of support and of finance, which were enthusiastically carried.

*John Phelps Taylor.*

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## BOOK NOTICES.

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**BIBLICAL STUDY; ITS PRINCIPLES, METHODS, AND HISTORY; TOGETHER WITH A CATALOGUE OF BOOKS OF REFERENCE.** By C. A. BRIGGS, D. D. 12mo, pp. xv., 506. New York: C. Scribner's Sons. 1883.

This is a general introduction to Exegetical Theology. The material is disposed under three heads: Biblical Literature (Canon, Textual Criticism, Higher Criticism); Biblical Exegesis; Biblical Theology. Much the larger part of the book is given to the first division, under which we have chapters on The Languages of the Bible; The Bible and Criticism; The Canon of Scripture; The Text of the Bible; The Higher Criticism; The Literary Study of the Bible; Hebrew Poetry. The lack of a strictly methodical arrangement of these chapters is, no doubt, due to the relation of the work to the earlier occasional writings of the author which are enumerated in the preface. The whole work finds a fitting conclusion in a chapter on The Scripture as a Means of Grace.

A book covering this ground, and written with an eye to the needs of the busy parish clergy, theological students, and intelligent laymen, could hardly fail of wide usefulness, especially at a time when the interest in all that concerns the Bible is as deep and general as it is now.

Dr. Briggs has done his work thoroughly well. He has brought to it a learning of which he is master, a spirit at once reverent and critical, and an enthusiasm for the Bible which is contagious. He has expressed himself clearly, vigorously, and opportunely. In the chapters which have to do with Biblical criticism, he has explained, in a very lucid way, the aim and methods of criticism, confident that when these are understood there will no longer be any question of the right and duty of criticism.

He protests against the attempt to lay the anathema of dogmatic theology upon the critical study of the Bible or its results. "Biblical criticism is confronted by traditional views of the Bible that do not wish to be disturbed, and by dogmatic statements respecting the Bible which decline reinvestigation and revision. The claim is put forth that these traditional views and dogmatic statements are in accordance with the Scriptures and the symbols of the church, and that the orthodox faith is put in peril by criticism." He declares that the Bible cannot be imperiled by a more thorough study of it; that truth need not fear criticism; and that "these cries of alarm for the church and the Bible, in their last analysis usually amount to nothing more than peril to certain favorite views." He warns those who are pressing the critics with the dilemma, *inerrancy* or *uninspired*, that they are not so likely to impale the critics — who would poorly deserve their name if they failed to detect the fallacy and escape — as "to catch the people who know nothing of criticism, and so undermine and destroy their faith."

Dr. Briggs's manly and strong defense of the right of criticism has the more weight because his own views on most critical questions are conservative; a fact which appears in various parts of this book, as well as in his article on *The Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch*, in the "Presbyterian Review," January, 1883.

For a pretty large class of readers his arguments will get additional weight from the proof he brings — the fruit of a thorough special study of the Puritan Reformation — that the freer views which he advocates are really more in accord with those of the fathers of the Westminster Symbols than the scholasticism of some who have constituted themselves the peculiar defenders of that faith. Altogether, this is a book which one would like to see in the hands of every thoughtful reader of the Bible.

One or two criticisms of points of detail may be permitted. We cannot think that the author has sufficiently guarded himself from misunderstanding on page 72 where he describes the work of Christianity, on the ethical side, as consisting in "the elevation of the graces of meekness, patience, long-suffering, self-sacrifice; and the dethronement of the Greek virtues of strength, beauty, bravery, and manhood." Christianity has already suffered too much, from within and from without, because of the notion that it means to dethrone the virtues of strength and manhood. The reviewer regrets that Dr. Briggs gives the weight of his influence to the custom of writing the Old Testament name of God, *Jahveh*. In German, from which we have borrowed it, this may be a fair transcription; but on an English tongue, *Jahveh* sounds scarcely nearer the true pronunciation than *Jehovah*. Why not *Yahwè*, or *Yahweh*?

The bibliographical appendix is a valuable feature of the book. It is a careful selection, not collection, of titles. Here and there an addition suggests itself — Noldeke, for example, is missed among the Syriac grammars — but in general both the inclusion and exclusion justify themselves. A simple system of marks points out from the larger list books to be specially recommended to laymen, or for a pastor's library. The three indexes greatly facilitate the use of the work. The publishers have done their part well. A few misprints have crept in, especially in the Appendix, — *Catalfalgo*, p. 434; Lane, *Eward*, ib.; *Dunker*, p. 473, for example, but none, so far as we have observed, that are likely to cause any inconvenience to the reader.

G. F. Moore.

THE SCRIPTURAL IDEA OF MAN. By REV. MARK HOPKINS, D. D. New York: C. Scribner's Sons. 1883.

This is a small volume made up from six lectures given to the students of the New Haven, Chicago, and Oberlin, and subsequently to those of the Princeton Theological Seminaries. It is a book of results rather than of processes. The conception is felicitous. Man in his original state, as created in the image of God, man in his present condition, and man as receiving a still larger increment of Divinity in the man Christ Jesus, furnish the central points of the discussion.

The book is of special interest as showing the conclusions which Dr. Hopkins has reached on points now under discussion between Christian Theists and the assailants both of Christianity and of all genuine science. For the larger part of a century, which seems destined to be known in history as the century of agnosticism, Dr. Hopkins has been a student and teacher of philosophy. He has been able to watch the discussion as to the ultimate grounds of human knowledge, awakened by the idealism of Berkeley denying validity to the sense perceptions, and by the universal skepticism of Hume denying validity to the other forms of knowledge. Within the century attempts to rebuild the fabric of science upon a firm basis have been made by men worthy to rank with the philosophers of any age, and the problems they have attempted to solve have carried both the assaults upon Christianity and its defense to the last point at which either assault or defense is possible. The denial of man's power to know the supersensible by any apparatus of cognition in his possession, is the gist of all infidelity and atheism in our times. The denial of his power to know anything, even to know that he doubts, is a strategic refuge — a sort of philosophical bomb-proof — to which, notwithstanding its utter darkness, skepticism retreats, whenever it is driven from the only position it really cares to maintain, that man, though knowing all that is "of the earth earthy," knows nothing heavenly or divine.

Dr. Hopkins deals with the questions raised in this great polemic of our age, in the quiet, easy fashion, possible only to a long and thorough familiarity with the subject. His book will be read with special interest as a conclusion and a testimony.

Dr. Hopkins is clear and strong in rejecting the substitution of *feeling* or *faith* for an intellectual cognition of religious truth. He emphasizes the definition of faith which identifies it with confidence in a person.

He rejects Calderwood's definition, namely, "The consciousness of our primary beliefs," as well as Hamilton's, "Faith is the organ by which we apprehend that which is beyond our knowledge." He also condemns that very common conception which is formulated by Christlieb as "The principle by which we apprehend the invisible."

We may say that this so-called "faith" is *knowledge*, knowledge gained through relations, — the relations of things seen with the involved correlated things unseen. In many cases it is the highest form of knowledge. But it is not *faith*, unless that word be used in a forced sense, given to it to meet a philosophical emergency.

To such a statement, as we understand it, Dr. Hopkins would assent. At least he falls back with entire confidence upon a true and proper knowledge as the basis both of Theism and of Christianity. His discussion of the knowledge of man, as a reproduction of the knowledge of God, in whose image he was made, is discriminating and full of interest.

Upon the point, vital to the whole discussion, as to the capacity of the mind to pass over from its own subjective states to the objective reality of things, the treatment is not so satisfactory. Dr. Hopkins uses the word *intuition*, not in the sense, more and more sanctioned by recent usage, of the knowledge of necessary truth, but in the Kantian sense of *direct* or *immediate* knowledge of any kind. To designate necessary truths he uses the term "truth of reason." If we should offer any criticism upon the book, it would be that the necessity of these truths is only claimed to be a necessity of our own minds. If the author holds that this necessity is a necessity of things and not of thought only, he certainly does not hold it, as Hamilton would say, "articulately." On the contrary, he repeatedly describes the "necessity" in the case as resulting from our own constitution. (Page 30.) We believe in *space, time, cause*, etc., not because we see that they are a necessity of things, but because "we are so constituted that we must believe them." (Page 28.)

It is a very remarkable evidence of the power of Kant's "Critique," in which he converted the great entities of the universe into mere "modes of thought," that so many of the ablest and clearest Theistic writers of the past decade have feared to abandon the shelter of subjectivity under which he placed all necessary truths. It would seem a necessary truth, that such an admission is a virtual surrender to absolute agnosticism.

Dr. Hopkins's discussion is in all other respects masterly, and his book will command the attention of all thinking men.

J. P. Gulliver.

NATURAL LAW IN THE SPIRITUAL WORLD. By HENRY DRUMMOND, F. R. S. E., F. G. S. Second edition, pp. xxiv., 414. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1883.

This book has an interesting history. Its author had been accustomed on week days to lecture on the natural sciences, and on Sundays to speak on religious themes. His audience on the Lord's day was largely composed of workmen. For a time his secular and his religious addresses were widely separated in method as well as in subject. He regarded religion and science as two entirely distinct and independent departments of thought. But as he proceeded lines of interconnection

begun to multiply, until at last he found himself, to his own surprise, "enunciating spiritual law in the exact terms of biology and physics." His method is advocated and illustrated in the work before us, which contains an Introduction stating the principles of this *Novum Organon*, and a series of papers in which it is applied to various doctrines of Christianity. The tone of the book is throughout serious and earnest. We are attracted by the writer's evident desire to communicate to others, in their endeavors to find solid ground for a Christian life, a secret which has been of practical advantage to himself, and which he divulges with genuine modesty, but also with personal confidence. The needs of those whom he particularly addresses are forcibly stated:—

"It is recognized by all that the younger and abler minds of this age find the most serious difficulty in accepting or retaining the ordinary forms of belief. Especially is this true of those whose culture is scientific. And the reason is palpable. No man can study modern science without a change coming over his view of truth. What impresses him about Nature is its solidity. He is there standing upon actual things, among fixed laws. And the integrity of the scientific method so seizes him that all other forms of truth begin to appear comparatively unstable. He did not know before that any form of truth could so hold him; and the immediate effect is to lessen his interest in all that stands on other bases. . . . This is an inevitable result of the scientific training. It is quite erroneous to suppose that science ever overthrows Faith, if by that is implied that any natural truth can oppose successfully any single spiritual truth. Science cannot overthrow Faith; but it shakes it. Its own doctrines, grounded in Nature, are so certain, that the truths of Religion, resting to most men on Authority, are felt to be strangely insecure. . . . None but those who have passed through it can appreciate the radical nature of the change wrought by Science in the whole mental attitude of its disciples. What they really cry out for in Religion is a new stand-point — a stand-point like their own. The one hope, therefore, for Science is more Science." (Pages xx. *seq.*)

"There is a sense of solidity about a Law of Nature which belongs to nothing else in the world. . . . This, more than anything else, makes one eager to see the Reign of Law traced in the Spiritual Sphere." (Page xxiii.)

The new point of view, our author thinks, is gained when we introduce natural law into the realm of spiritual truth. It is not enough to trace analogies between the constitution of nature and religion, nor to show the analogy of religion to the course of nature; we must go further, and show that the identical laws which are solid to us in the natural world exist also in the spiritual, and thus gain an assurance that the one realm is as real and cognizable as the other. This, however, does not imply that the phenomena of the two spheres are identical. A religious experience is not the same as a physical. The identity which is maintained is simply one of law. The same laws operate in both regions, — on matter in one, on spirit in the other, — but this does not assume that there is no radical distinction between the material and the spiritual. Nor does the author claim that natural law covers the whole of the spiritual world. There is a region of the unknown, of mystery. His contention is, that what is sure as law in the lower sphere runs through the higher, and so there is a scientific certainty in matters of religion as really as in secular

things. A clear illustration of this method is given in the essay on Biogenesis. The law expressed in the words: "He that hath the Son hath life, and he that hath not the Son of God hath not life," is identical with the law, "*Omne vivum ex vivo*." Spontaneous generation is excluded religiously no less than naturally. Life invariably comes from life. The quality of life differs in the two cases, but the law of life is the same. Therefore the religious doctrine of the necessity of regeneration by the Holy Spirit is not a mere *dictum* of authority, but a law of nature—a solid truth of science. In the same way the author endeavors to vindicate a number of other fundamental Christian verities.

Is this a method to be trusted and commended? We have a keen appreciation of the need our author would remedy. We sympathize with him in his desire to relieve the difficulties of men whose embarrassments he depicts. We are not surprised that his method has met with applause. But is it really serviceable,—or rather, is it a true one? We do not question the reign of law, nor that the advance in natural science offers many striking and helpful analogies between the method of divine operation in different departments of the creation. The naturalness of the supernatural is an important and recognized plea of modern Christian apologetics. Our author brings to view very strikingly a number of important resemblances between natural and spiritual laws, analogies of great practical significance which he uses with no little homiletic skill. His book is worthy of study in this regard. Yet its main contention does not seem to us to be true, and it might easily lead those who are more eager to defend accepted religious doctrines than to find solid grounds of religious faith and life, to the use of weapons which sooner or later will be turned against them.

The identity of natural and spiritual laws, if it is a fact of science or of knowledge, must signify much more than our author appreciates. Thought out, it means an extension of natural laws through the spiritual world, and of spiritual through the natural. Nor merely this. It identifies phenomena as well as laws. For if the phenomena are incapable of transmutation or correlation, if they are generically dissimilar, then the laws which they reveal, which are only discoverable through them, and are but their "ascertained working sequence or constant order," if they are anything more than formal, must be equally unlike. Or shall we resort to the empty saying that in each case alike there is a sequence which may be expressed by a common term, as we may speak of the pain of a burn, and of the pain of remorse? Then it comes to this, that identity of law means simply that words may be used with a double sense, which, indeed, seems to us to be the amount, at times, of the reasoning of this book; that is, the *Novum Organon* is of the nature of a scientific pun. If anything more is really and thoroughly held, anything beyond analogy and type and unity of plan, we reach an identification not merely of law, but of phenomena, as respects their essential and generic character, and thus any radical distinction between matter and spirit, the natural and the supernatural, is abandoned. There are not wanting indications in this volume that such a Monism at times hovers before the mind of the writer, though it is never firmly grasped.

The author rests his case on the Law of Continuity. But the argument is conclusive only on the assumption of identity of known spheres of existence, that is, of the material and the spiritual.



This is a misinterpretation of Continuity, which is a general principle rather than a particular law. It does not require us to hold that every established sequence extends universally. Such an understanding of the principle would abolish the distinction between the organic and the inorganic departments of nature. The curious reply is made, that the laws (that of gravitation is specified) continue, but do not operate for lack of material — the mill-stone goes on revolving though there is nothing in the hopper. Since, however, the law is sequence of phenomena, what the scientific evidence of its operation is, when confessedly it does not operate, is not clear. When it is further said that it is the same law which operates on matter at one end, and on spirit at the other, the question arises why this concession of non-operation should be made, — why gravitation, for instance, should not be held to operate upon souls as upon bodies, just as does the law *omne vivum ex vivo*. When it is further conceded that new laws may arise in particular spheres, the argument from Continuity becomes hopelessly confused.

We have noticed this volume because it deserves to be read for the many pithy and pointed statements it contains of religious truths, and for many striking confirmations it gives of a conformity of the natural to the spiritual, of their true and inward harmony, and of the naturalness of the supernatural. We believe a great work remains to be done in tracing the laws of the spiritual as well as of the natural, and in showing the reciprocal relations and harmony of the two. But it is indispensable to this result (and that this may be said is another reason of this notice) that there be no confusion in this matter, and especially that there be no premature recasting of Christian dogma in scientific moulds. The outcome, in the present instance, of such a method is a doctrine of the loss of life (existence) by the great majority of human beings, and an identification of Evolution and Redemption. We believe there are other and surer methods of commending to "men of science" the truths of spiritual religion.

Egbert C. Smyth.

CAMBRIDGE SERMONS. By ALEXANDER MCKENZIE. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co. 1883.

These are the utterances of a brilliant mind. Coming as they do from a preacher of ability and success, and chosen doubtless by "selection of the fittest," we may accept them as samples of the effectiveness of the Cambridge pulpit. When we come to seek for the qualities in which that effectiveness lies, we are reminded of the saying of Valerius Maximus, that "a great part of Demosthenes is wanting, for it must be heard and not read." To get the impressiveness, the force, the unction these sermons doubtless conveyed to their hearers, one must imagine the preacher behind them. They need the personal presence and magnetism to give them their real flavor and significance.

Their effectiveness is not to be found in their structure. The method is often fragmentary, and the thinking discursive. There is intense moral purpose, but it does not cut for itself a straight logical track. We are led sometimes along well-defined pathways, but oftener across tessellated pavements. They are beautiful, but it is beautiful mosaic. It

happens, therefore, that the reader finds himself stumbling over an occasional obscurity, which was not to be anticipated in such a crystal medium. The obscurity is not in the style. There is nothing nebulous in that. It lies in the broken sequences of the thought.

Nor does the effect come from reasoning. The only argument used is the appeal to common sense. An English friend said to us recently, — "I hear very little reasoning in American sermons. They all affirm." The sermons before us are striking examples of the statement. So uniformly are they expressed in that method that the style even, otherwise so sparkling and limpid, becomes seriously clogged. The constantly recurring affirmations grow into a wearisome monotony, and we wonder why the preacher does not enliven his sentences with a freer use of the question, and other more spirited forms.

It is not by these methods that Dr. McKenzie produces his effect. He relies upon the momentum of his theme, his moral earnestness, his strong convictions, his evangelical fervor, his knowledge of men and affairs, his exuberant diction, and his oratorical power. Given such a man as the Cambridge pastor, endowed with such spiritual forces as these, and the discourses before us, however indifferent in structure, must be and would be effective. But they would surely be more so if the missing qualities were supplied.

Looking at the individual sermons, note the felicity and ingenuity with which the theme is drawn from the text and placed before the hearer. No flowery or finical introductions embarrass the pathway to the truth. We can promise the reader too that, unlike the usual arrangement of published sermons, these will improve as he advances. The seventh is better than any that precede it. The eighth, tenth, and fifteenth are better still. The ninth is a capital specimen of accommodation, and is of sterling value. A very ingenious theme is found in "The wayside seed," sermon fourteen, somewhat rambling indeed, but practical and suggestive. The eleventh is the only doctrinal one in the group, and is an impressive discussion of God's love manifested in the atonement. The fifth may be valuable to the friends of the "Good merchant," whose memory it embalms, but otherwise is too ephemeral for preservation. The fourth is a plea for sailors, with a felicitous motto-text; but we wonder that "the son of a sailor" could not enter more keenly into the life and thought and needs of the men of the sea.

The book abounds with delightful and racy passages, sometimes eloquent. For example, the creed which is contained in the text (p. 34); religion weakened by lack of obedience (p. 50); the true ideal of heaven (p. 231); our daily round and daily advance, illustrated by the movements of the earth (p. 163); other notable illustrations (pp. 120, 141); and the occasional happy use of the dramatic element (pp. 235, 259, *et als.*). The spirit of these discourses is thoroughly manly, evangelical, and devout. They are rich with gospel truth and tender feeling. It would be well for the Church and the world if there were more of such preachers and such preaching.

John S. Sewall.

THINGS NEW AND OLD IN DISCOURSES OF CHRISTIAN TRUTH AND LIFE.  
By WASHINGTON GLADDEN. Columbus, Ohio: A. H. Smythe. 1883.

When a preacher publishes a book of sermons we may expect to find in it both the principles of his thinking and the conclusions to which they have led him,—the seed of philosophy and theology and the fruit of practical duty. And if the author has written widely and miscellaneously, we may expect to find in such a volume the sum of his various teachings in their finest and most spiritual forms. Dr. Gladden has long been known as an author, an editor, a magazinist, a story-teller, a poet, a critic, a debater, a political economist. Such variety of work might suggest a miscellaneous and possibly inconsistent thinker, but it can safely be said of his work in general, and of this volume, that a severe unity pervades both. Dr. Gladden is an author who has not felt his way, nor worked tentatively, but early caught the spirit of modern thought, and planted himself upon its principles, which he thoroughly mastered. In all his writings, we find the same intense recognition of ethics as a point from which, and an end to which all his thought is directed; but it is ethics drawn from above and not from below or around,—ethics resting on revelation. While there is great variety in these sermons, as their titles indicate, they dwell steadily on life and character; they are bathed in an atmosphere of sympathy with the real and present ills of humanity; they plead for a realization of redemption from the evil and sorrow that press upon society and the individual; they unfold the gospel as a power that delivers from the evil by curing it. Hence they are in the last degree practical,—never outside of the every-day life and needs of the every-day men and women about him. Whether he touches so purely spiritual a theme as that of the sermon, "The Great Voice from Heaven," or one so purely scientific as that of "The Parable of the Climbing Plants," the hearer is left with a deep sense of practical duty. Dr. Gladden's method, as a preacher, is to lay hold of a single truth—large and important, which he has himself first clearly apprehended; he explains it, sets it in its relations, then buttresses it by analogies from nature and society, illuminates it with scriptural illustration, and finally applies it, in a close, suggestive, and helpful way to the very people before him. There is an utter absence of the tentative method,—taking a text and feeling the way, trusting it may lead to some valuable conclusion. This may be a good method for the study, but it is a very bad one for the pulpit. Hence, we note in these sermons a tone of confidence and authority; "I believed, therefore have I spoken." Dr. Gladden is emphatically a teacher. All his warmth and earnestness and effort run to this end,—to instruct, to get his idea into the hearer's mind: but no one need open this book expecting to find the dullness of mere didactics; every page is rich with the glow of imagination and the treasures of wide and exact knowledge. It is the peculiarity of these sermons, and their highest merit, that they bring the reader to what Dr. Bushnell called "a first-hand" perception of truth. They do not speak through a system of theology, nor through traditional conceptions, but take one straight up to the truth that Christ or St. Paul uttered. There is, therefore, in them a certain fullness of light and force that is at times startling. In this respect Dr. Gladden is in full accord with the style of exegesis that is coming on, as illustrated in Bruce and Row. They have no higher quality, nor can any sermons have a higher,

than as *interpretative*. As such, they meet in a marked degree the need and conscious requirement of the age. Tell us exactly what the Bible means, is the demand of thoughtful multitudes. Dr. Gladden does not ignore theology, nor is he indifferent to creeds. In the sermon that gives the title to the book, he indicates not only their value but their necessity, and many readers will be surprised at what they will term the *conservatism* of his position on these subjects, but of creed or system they will find little in these pages, but instead truth set in the clear, direct light of its original inspiration. These sermons are eminently rational, though there is no strain to bring infinite things to the level of human reason, — they rather seek to explain divine truth. Still he touches no theme that he does not leave clear and on peaceable terms with our reasonable nature. They are also strong and unwavering in their assertion of what are termed evangelical truths; the personality of God the Father, Christ a divine Redeemer from sin and evil, regeneration by the Spirit, salvation by faith that yields righteousness, personal immortality, good and evil yielding their appropriate destiny; and as such they indicate no drift towards an unsettling of faith, but are rather an assurance of the contrary.

T. T. Munger.

SERMONS PREACHED IN ENGLISH CHURCHES. By PHILLIPS BROOKS. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1883.

Dr. John Donne complained of the average church attendant of his time, "He hears but the logic, or the rhetoric, or the ethic, or the poetry of the sermon: the sermon of the sermon he hears not." Mr. Brooks's hearers hear "the sermon of the sermon." They are caught at once and held by the spiritual quality of his speech. No preacher of our time, of equal literary acquirements, has succeeded so completely in utilizing the literary power of the sermon to its moral advantage. Mr. Brooks's listeners or readers never stop to admire. Not because the flow of speech is impetuous, but because the motive is sincere, and the method consistent with the motive. The mind is not continually drawn off into epigram and figure. The current of feeling is allowed to run as deep and swift as the current of thought.

Mr. Brooks approaches his subjects for the most part through some experience common to men. His approach is not that of the theologian or philosopher, and seldom that of the expositor. His usual method is to connect the text immediately with the experience which the text suggests, or which has suggested the text. Here is the opening of his sermon from the text, "Why could not we cast him out."

"Man's perpetual surprise at his own weakness is one of the most significant and pathetic sights in human history, — sometimes it seems as if the human race, always struggling with evils which it never overcomes, taking up in each new generation the unfinished fights with want and woe and sin and folly, often appearing to lose the ground which the old generations won, and slipping back to the bottom of the hill to begin the toilsome climb again, — sometimes it seems as if man must accept failure as his fate and frankly say, 'I cannot do this which I have dreamed of doing. I was made too weak,' and so abandon the attempt. But no! That time never comes with the race, and hardly ever with the individual. Sometimes the wondering question loses its energy and dwindles into a weak querulousness. But still it continues to be asked; still man,

though prostrate on the ground, keeps sight of his ambitions ; still, though he lets himself grow weak and little, he wonders why he is not great and strong ; still, though he treasures in his heart the bad spirits of idleness and sensuality and selfishness and cruelty, something about him always bears witness that he knows that they are intruders there ; still he goes about asking, ' Why cannot I cast them out ? ' never ceasing to be surprised at his own weakness and to seek for its explanation. It is the most significant and pathetic fact in all our history ; it shows how native and how persistent in man is the conviction of his essential greatness." (Pages 179, 180.)

The insight into human life, and the evident sympathy with it, revealed in this extract show us the conditions under which Mr. Brooks's mind is forced to act. His insight and sympathies compel him to think close to life ; they will not suffer him to think, even at that remove from life when most of the theologies and philosophies are thought out. Possibly some minds acting under other incentive and trained to other methods may not fairly estimate the intellectual reach and authority of his sermons. They may, at first, miss in them their own methods, their own forms of statement, the arguments with which they are most familiar, and the more general truths in which their own thoughts are accustomed to range. But the attentive, if not sympathetic, reading of these sermons will discover, even to such minds, the breadth and force of their intellectual movement, and the rich and fertilizing properties of thought which they possess.

Comparing the present volume of sermons with those which have preceded it, one is most impressed with the wider range of motive to which the appeal is made. Mr. Brooks always speaks to the possibilities in men. Here, perhaps, as not before to their weaknesses and sins. Since Canon Mozeley's sermon on the "Reversal of Human Judgment," no more serious or searching sermon has been printed than that on "The Fire and the Calf," as illustrating self-deception and self-excuse. The sermon already referred to, "Why could not we cast him out," is a graphic picture of the weakness of unbelief, of the feebleness of man independent of God. The sermon on the "Mind's Love of God" is a manly plea for the "true place of the mind and thinking powers in religion." How indignant and vigorous is this protest against relegating religion to the emotions.

"I want you all to feel how thoroughly Christianity is bound to reject indignantly this whole treatment of itself. Just think how the great masters of religion would receive it ! Think of David and his cry, — "Thy testimonies are wonderful. I have more understanding than my teachers, for thy testimonies are my study." Think of Paul — "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God." Think of Augustine, Luther, Calvin, Milton, Edwards, and a hundred more, the men whose minds have found their loftiest inspiration in religion, how would they have received this quiet and contemptuous relegation of the most stupendous subjects of human thought to the region of silly sentiment ? They were men who loved the Lord their God with all their minds. The noble relation of their intellects to Him was the supreme satisfaction of their lives. We cannot imagine them for a moment as yielding up that great region of their lives in which their minds delighted in the study and attainment of this truth." (Page 39.)

But the essential qualities of Mr. Brooks's pulpit power, which have been manifest in earlier volumes, are conspicuous in this. In common with those which have gone before, these sermons are the utterance of a man who has more than a message — he has a gospel. The tone is unmistakable. The authority, the certainty, the fullness, the exuberance of



the gospel message are here. Here is a man who believes, and whose faith is contagious. Here is a man who so believes that he dares to hope, and other men take courage. The prevailing thought of these sermons is that of the sufficiency of God, a sufficiency made manifest, real, available in Jesus Christ.

It were futile to raise the question as to Mr. Brooks's limitations, to ask for example whether he has the same power to convict as to awaken, to indoctrinate as to inspire. The modern pulpit is obliged to do its work, perhaps its best work, under limitations; limitations growing out of differences in education, in social influence, in the knowledge and experience of life. The present fact is that society is becoming classified in respect to the motives and methods which, under ordinary conditions, determine personal religion. It were the grossest exaggeration to say that any living preacher is reaching equally all classes in any large community. It were the merest assumption to say that any one could. When God makes the heart of a community as the heart of one man, He makes it perfectly plain that his Spirit is producing the unusual effect. At such times He can use any man as his instrument. In other and ordinary times the greatest preacher has his limitations. In some respects the greater the preacher, the greater his limitations. Of the really great preachers of the present hardly any two could exchange pulpits and each hold the other's audience for a year. Let Canon Liddon and Mr. Spurgeon try the experiment.

Mr. Brooks may be a preacher to a class, but the class to which he preaches is as wide as any which the pulpit is *actually* reaching. It is made up of men and women already under general Christian influences, but who are capable of more personal and serious religious thought and religious feeling. The sermons before us illustrate one of the best definitions of preaching yet given: "Preaching is making men think, and feel in proportion as they think."

William J. Tucker.

MARTIN LUTHER, SEIN LEBEN UND SEINE SCHRIFTEN. Von Dr. JULIUS KÖSTLIN, Professor u. Konsistorialrath in Halle. Zweite, neu durchgearbeitete Auflage. 2 Bde., pp. xii., 818; x., 733. Elberfeld, 1883.

LUTHERS LEBEN, von JULIUS KÖSTLIN. Mit Authentischen Illustrationen; 59 Abbildungen im Text und 6 Beilagen, pp. xv., 615. Leipzig, 1882.

LIFE OF LUTHER. By JULIUS KÖSTLIN. With Illustrations from Authentic Sources. Translated from the German, pp. 587. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

D. MARTIN LUTHERS LEBEN UND WIRKEN. Zum 10. November, 1883, dem deutschen evangelischen Volke geschildert von D. GUSTAV PLITT, o. ö. Professor in Erlangen, vollendet v. G. F. PETERSEN, Hauptpastor in Lübeck, pp. x., 570, 8vo. Leipzig, 1883.

D. MARTIN LUTHERS WERKE. Kritische Gesamtausgabe. 1 Band, pp. xxii., 710. Weimar: Hermann Böhlau. 1883.

DR. MARTIN LUTHER'S DEUTSCHE GEISTLICHE LIEDER. THE HYMNS OF MARTIN LUTHER, set to their Original Melodies, with an English Version. Edited by LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON. Assisted by NATHAN H. ALLEN. Pp. xxvii., 71. New York: Published in Commemoration of the 400th Anniversary of Luther's Birthday, Nov. 10, 1883, by Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

Dr. Köstlin, while Professor of Theology at Breslau, published in 1863 a work in two volumes on "Luther's Theology." It opened with a



sketch of Luther's inner life down to the time of the famous Theses, gave a historical exposition of his writings as a reformer and public teacher, and closed with a systematic review of his theological opinions. The work was written on the basis of a thorough study of Luther's voluminous publications, with discrimination and impartiality. In 1875, its author, who had been transferred to the University of Halle, gave to the public a biography of Luther which has taken rank among the most important historical compositions of recent years. A commission, presided over by one of the most learned students and writers of German history, Dr. George Waitz, awarded its author one of the two prizes bestowed for works in this department issued from 1865 to 1875. The other prize was given to the veteran historian Ranke. This biography now appears in a second edition, which follows the course of the first, but has been carefully revised, with the aid of important special investigations which have been published during the last few years. Dr. Köstlin's aim was to write a biography of Luther which should exhibit all that is known as to the details of his life, and that can help to a right understanding of his writings, and of his place in history. There can be but one opinion as to his qualifications for such an undertaking and the result attained. We trust that this larger work will soon find a competent translator. No other book about Luther compares with it in value.

—The smaller Life appeared in Germany early in 1882. It is not a mere abridgment of the larger, but has been composed for readers who may not desire so many critical details, and so full accounts of Luther's writings. It is greatly enriched by numerous authentic portraits, fac-similes, and other illustrations, all subservient to its genuine historical character. The numerous likenesses of the Reformer, with those of his father and mother, are specially instructive. The story of his life is, as it were, epitomized in these faithful representations by Cranach, especially in those executed in 1520 and 1525, compared with a third, apparently much later, introduced into an altar-piece at Weimar whose subject is the Crucifixion. This last is the noblest of all the representations, showing a countenance full of strength and light. Next to this, in some respects with it, ranks the Dresden portrait, also by Cranach. It is not inserted in the smaller German biography, but appears as the frontispiece to the second edition of the larger work. It has been very beautifully photographed by Brockmann, Dresden. The freshness, purity, geniality of the face are very marked. We fancy it is Luther's countenance as his friends often saw it during his table-talk.

—The translation of "*Luthers Leben*," published by Charles Scribner's Sons, is worthy of the original, offering to the public the most trustworthy and valuable biography in the English language. Owing to the different quality of the paper, so far as we can judge, the impression of the illustrative plates is inferior to that of the beautiful German edition. They are, however, all faithfully given, as they are all absent from the translation published by the "Lutheran Publication Society." We trust that in a second edition of this very valuable book the printing of the wood-cuts may be made yet more effective, and that a copy of the Weimar portrait will be added from the larger biography. The translation is very well done. Now and then a word, and occasionally a sentence, are omitted which were better retained, but we have noticed no important omission and the style is singularly free from Germanisms. Are

*Schieferhalden* and *Schlackenhausen* names of places? We cannot answer the question, but suspect that the author designates by these words merely heaps of slate and slag.

— Dr. Plitt died leaving a sentence in the narrative respecting Luther's invitation of his friends to his wedding uncompleted. The remainder, less than half, of the volume is prepared by a pastor in Lübeck, on the basis of Köstlin's larger work. Professor Plitt made the study of the history of the Reformation a specialty, and his representation of the Reformer's life and work is written from an intimate knowledge of the sources and in a clear and attractive style. It is highly praised by Professor Kawerau, a prominent German scholar in this department, in the "*Theologische Literaturzeitung*," 1883, No. 9, sp. 208-210. Professor Kawerau's review is worthy of consultation for its statement of points in which the writer differs from Dr. Plitt and other biographers. A translation of the Introduction to Dr. Plitt's "*Life*" was published in the "*Independent*," November 15, from the pen of the Rev. G. A. Gates, of Upper Montclair, New Jersey.

— The first volume of the new issue of Luther's Works gives promise of an edition which will meet the demands of modern scholarship. The undertaking has received the warm support of the Emperor of Germany and the Prussian Ministry, and is under the general direction of a commission composed of one representative of the government, Professor Weiss, and two delegates of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, Professor Müllenhoff and Dr. Waitz. The editor is Dr. Knaake, who has shown in previous publications distinguished qualifications for such a service. He will be aided, probably, by other specialists in this field.

In arrangement of the materials the topical plan followed in the edition of Walch and in the Erlangen, is abandoned, and the chronological method is adopted. We believe that this decision will commend itself to students of Luther's writings. The arrangement gives three natural divisions, marked by Luther's residence at the Wartburg (1521) and at Coburg (1530). The sermons are presented collectively at the end of the designated year in which they were delivered. Lectures published after their author's death, letters, and the "*Table-talk*" will appear at the close of the edition. Each work has an introduction, and special attention is given to the bibliography. Other peculiarities of the edition are detailed with precision in the editor's preface. Such a critical edition is much needed, and will receive a hearty welcome. The volume before us closes with the "*Exposition of the 109th (110) Psalm*," 1518. The mechanical execution deserves special praise. The printing (Hof-Buchdruckerei, Weimar) is remarkably good; the page clear and fair, except that when the heavy semi-barbarous German letter is used the impression shows through, owing to the thinness of the paper. The title-page is adorned with a specially beautiful border from a wood-cut ascribed to Cranach. The initial letters of the several works are from designs of the best artists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Hase's words are quoted: "Luther's works are as much a German national monument as the Cologne Cathedral." This edition proposes to care for these works in the spirit of such an estimate.

— It is one of the merits of Dr. Köstlin's biographies that the versatility and manifold gifts of Luther are duly exhibited. One of his greatest services to the Church was his reformation of its worship. This involved a

masterly appropriation of the powers of music and song. It was a happy and worthy design, on the part of Dr. Bacon and Professor Allen and of their publishers, to honor Luther's memory by publishing a collection of his Spiritual Songs, "with the musical arrangements written for or associated with them." Some of these songs and tunes have a permanent place in worship. Eighteen are included in the Berlin "*Gesangbuch*," four at least are in common use, and two are general favorites. All have a historical interest, and some of them in a very high degree. This collection is preceded by a spirited introduction from Dr. Bacon, and by a translation of Luther's four prefaces. All the hymns, psalms, and songs are given in the original as well as in translations. The editor has judged, and rightly we think, that an arrangement of the materials in chronological order is most appropriate to the commemorative character of this edition. This is secured to a good degree by following the order of the earlier hymn-books. In one instance, No. V., a date is inserted earlier than that of the book in which the song first appeared. Where so much has been done we would offer no criticism that more has not been attempted; but we would suggest that if the editor, in a future edition, should more fully and precisely supply the dates, and when possible, the history of the individual hymns, the collection would be much increased in value.

Meanwhile our readers may find of service some suggestions in this direction though we have not at hand all the authorities we could desire.

The first composition of which we have knowledge is No. V. of this collection. It deserves to stand first in order, for it suggests the tragic vicissitudes and exigencies out of which this hymnology arose. It is a song of martyrdoms. No. I., "a song of thanksgiving," was composed the same year (1523), as were also the versions of Psalms xii., xiv., cxxx. [See Köstlin, *M. Luther*, i. 573.] These were published at the beginning of 1524, with four others, making a book of eight "songs, hymns, and psalms according to the pure Word of God, . . . to be sung in the churches as already in part practiced at Wittenberg." Probably some or all of them had been separately printed previously. Later in the same year appeared the "*Enchiridion*" containing eighteen of Luther's songs, — thirteen besides those to which we have already referred. The first line of v. 3 of Hymn XI., in the work before us, is printed according to Baptst's edition, 1545. In the "*Enchiridion*" it read: "Tod, sund, leben und auch gnad." The next six numbers, XIX.—XXIV., are credited to "Walter's *Gesangbuch*, 1525." Leading authorities — Wackernagel, Koch, Irmischer, Köstlin — give the date 1524. It was in this edition that the first of the prefaces, reproduced by Dr. Bacon, appeared. The title which he quotes, p. xxi., alludes to an earlier edition — "erstlich zu Wittenberg," etc. It is an illustration of the energy and power with which Luther addressed himself to supplying the needs of the churches that in one year three hymn-books were published containing twenty-four compositions from his own pen. Dr. Köstlin [*op. cit.* i. pp. 574 *seq.*] gives an interesting account of these productions, which we should be glad to quote, but for which we have not space. No one can carefully examine them, in their historical connection and relations, and not be impressed with the wisdom and genius of their author. Their objective character, their adaptation to common worship, would be remarkable, con-

sidering the marked individuality of their composer, if it were not that Luther's special greatness is nowhere more evident than in this, that he could represent so many other persons.

The hymn "Ein feste Burg" is wrongly dated in this edition, p. xv., *note*. The popular association it has had with the Diet of Worms is natural, but Dr. Bacon rightly sets this aside. The best authorities assign it to the close of the year 1527, or beginning of 1528. [See Knaake, "Luther's Lied 'Ein feste Burg' im Jahre 1527 gedichtet" in Luthardt's "Zeitschrift für kirch. Wissenschaft," 1881, p. 39 *seq.*; Köstlin *op. cit.* ii. 23, 182, 645, 650.] In 1527 troubles pressed upon the Saxon Reformers from every side. Rumors were in circulation of a hostile combination of the German Roman Catholic princes. The pastor of the cathedral church in Halle was murdered. A young clergyman, Leonhard Käser, or Kaiser, a friend of Luther's, visited his dying father in Passau, was arrested, imprisoned, and, on the sixteenth of August, burned at the stake, exhibiting throughout firm Christian courage. Numerous persecutions sprang up elsewhere. Luther's soul was deeply stirred by these events and by what he regarded as the direct inward assaults of Satan. Out of these calamities and agonies came the great hymn of the Reformation.

Hymns XXVII. and XXVIII. are credited by Dr. Bacon to the "Geistliche Lieder" published in Wittenberg in 1533. He also refers Luther's "Third Preface" to Joseph Klug's Hymn Book of 1543. It is now believed to have been prefixed to a collection of "Geistliche Lieder" published by Klug in 1529, and cited by recent writers as Klug's "Gesangbuch." Köstlin refers Nos. XXVII. and XXVIII. to the same year.

The very beautiful "Children's Christmas Song" is rightly connected with Luther's experiences as a father. Professor Köstlin states that the "Susannine" in the fourteenth stanza reminds of the cradle songs which were sung by children at the Christmas manger, and the "springen, singen" of their dancing in rows or couples around the same. No. XXXI. is dated by Wackernagel and Köstlin 1539. In Hymn XXXIII., p. xi., there is a misprint of "Gott" for "Herr." It is correctly given on p. 67. With XXXIV. and XXXV. it belongs to the year 1541. Luther's composition of Hymns, which began with the "Song of the Two Martyrs," closes (1543) with a Christmas song and an "imitation of the Gregorian hymn, O Lux Beata Trinitas."

Dr. Bacon gives the "Frau Musica" from Klug's Hymn Book, 1543. It was first published in 1538.

The vignette on the title-page is from the portrait of Luther which is specially characterized by a shade of melancholy. Remembering Luther's words in the Fourth Preface and elsewhere, respecting singing with joy and delight, we should prefer to see, at least with this, a copy of one of the other likenesses.

Egbert C. Smyth.

AMERICAN COLLEGES, THEIR STUDENTS AND WORK. By CHARLES F. THWING. Second edition, pp. 212. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1883.

This book by Mr. Thwing, a graduate of Harvard, and now pastor at Cambridge, as issued in 1878, brought together with great industry a wide range of facts concerning the American colleges, and was so well

received as to call for this revised edition, enlarged by chapters on endowment, co-education, and the proposed national university. The method is comparative throughout, with no college or clerical bias, and pervaded by a tone of candor which wins confidence, though there are occasional minor slips. It is impossible to represent adequately by facts and figures any college, as an *educational* establishment. A college is more than buildings, libraries, endowments, courses of study, teachers, students, or any or all of these combined. Mr. Thwing's book gives side by side, with abundant statistics, frequent glimpses of this subtle principle; and he does not hesitate to express opinions, and draw inferences, as he discusses the chief points in college organization, administration, and history. Every one interested in our colleges, whatever be the ground of his interest, will value these compact chapters on instruction, morals, religion, sports, societies, expenses, honors, endowments, journalism, woman's education, and the choice of a college.

C. F. P. Bancroft.

THE LIFE AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF EDWARD HENRY PALMER, LATE LORD ALMONER'S PROFESSOR OF ARABIC IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE, ETC. By WALTER BESANT. 8vo, ix., 430 pp. London: John Murray. 1883.

Palmer's life had the fascination of individuality. As a school-boy he preferred picking up Romany from vagabond tinkers and gypsy fortune-tellers to learning Latin and Greek from his tutors. For mathematics he had the linguist's incapacity. So, though he was born in Cambridge, and educated in one of its grammar schools, he passed from school, not to the university, but to a London clerkship.

In such leisure as his duties gave him he fed his language-hunger with Italian, learned from political refugees in cafés, from organ-grinders and image-venders, from sailors of Livorno, Genoa, Messina. As fast as he learned he spoke. In the end he knew not only the Florentine book-language, but the dialects from Piedmontese to Sicilian. In the same fashion he acquired French, *Argot* and all.

Before he was twenty his health broke down, and he went back to Cambridge to die of lung disease. He did not die, but recovered. While leading the purposeless life of a convalescent, and wondering what way in life would now be open to him, he made the acquaintance of Syed Abdullah, who was giving lessons in the Indian languages at Cambridge.

So Palmer became an Orientalist. Arabic, Persian, and Urdee he laid hold of first, and joining to his extraordinary gift for languages the extraordinary industry of genius, he mastered them. No man learns an Oriental language without iron perseverance. The talk about its "coming naturally" is nonsense. Palmer worked at this time eighteen hours a day. But what was he going to do with it? He had a living to make, and Arabic versions of "*Lalla Rookh*" are not merchantable in England. It was natural to look to the universities. He was matriculated at Saint John's College, Cambridge, in 1863, and in due time got his fellowship.

In 1868 and 1869 Palmer was with the Sinai Survey in the East, and in 1870, with Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake, he explored the plateau of El Téh. Of this expedition he wrote a most interesting account in "*The Desert of the Exodus*." During these months among the Bedawin he got that

familiarity with the confusing dialects they speak, as well as that comprehension and sympathy, repaid with confidence, which led to his selection as the one man in England who could undertake the difficult task to which his life was sacrificed. Soon after his return he stood for the Professorship of Arabic at Cambridge, but unsuccessfully. A little later he was elected Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic with a stipend of £40. After a few years he tired of the drudgery of teaching boys the Persian alphabet, threw up his university employments, and came up to London to try his fortune in journalism. From this work he was called by his country to that dangerous mission to the tribes of the peninsula, whose tragic end is still fresh in memory, but whose history is now first told from Palmer's own letters and journals.

Mr. Besant has written the story of this life with manifest affection and admiration, which he makes his readers share. An Appendix on Palmer's work, as an Oriental scholar, is by Professor Nicholl. It contains specimens of his composition in Arabic, Persian, and Hindustani.

They show that to Palmer languages were living things, with which he was familiar enough to take liberties. If pedantic philologists, to whom all languages are dead, chose to call his liberties blunders, Palmer was not the man to take it much to heart.

One question suggests itself: Why was Palmer an Orientalist rather than a Grecian? Why did he who knew a dozen languages profess all his life to know no Latin or Greek?

About the answer there need be no hesitation. He was required to learn the classic languages by methods by which not even he, with his genius for languages, could learn them. If he had studied French or Italian at school, he would have known no more of them. The outcry against the study of the classics in colleges has some justice. The error of all errors is to think that in teaching of grammar we think we are teaching a language.

*George F. Moore.*

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## PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

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THE last number of the "Studien und Kritiken" (Jahrgang, 1884, Erstes Heft) contains an elaborate review of Weiss's "Leben Jesu," by Dr. Erich Haupt. The acuteness of the book and the finish of its style are warmly praised, and its very favorable reception by the general public acknowledged and approved. The reviewer, however, regards the author's success in solving the problems presented in our Lord's life as a matter of serious question. From the same free evangelical point of view occupied by Dr. Weiss the principal features of the book are carefully discussed. The result claimed in almost every instance is that the facts in hand do not all give the information which Dr. Weiss finds in them. To mention some of the disputed points. Dr. Weiss's position regarding the free use which John made of his recollection of Christ's teaching in composing the discourses attributed to our Lord in his Gospel is heartily approved; but the criticism is made, that it is not consistent with this position to undertake to pick out from these discourses cer-



tain sayings which were literally reported. While the acuteness with which Dr. Weiss finds traces of historical connection in the words and deeds of Christ recorded by the Synoptists is most warmly praised, the doubt is expressed whether the evidence is not strained,—at any rate, so far as the earlier part of our Lord's ministry is concerned. Indeed, the reviewer thinks that it is useless to try to make a chronological representation of this part of our Lord's ministry. The representation of Christ as beginning his work among his people with the hope of uniting them to his person and so to God, is objected to as finding no support in the narrative, and as greatly exaggerating our Lord's dependence on Old Testament prophecy for his knowledge of his work. Dr. Weiss is also said by the reviewer to give more weight to the story of Christ's birth in Matthew and Luke than a sound critical judgment would approve. His representation of the crisis which followed the miracle of the loaves, that is, that our Lord's hope of winning the people to God was then broken by their endeavor to make Him the leader of a revolution; and the alienation caused by his refusal is pronounced incredible, in view of the pains he had taken to conceal his Messiahship. The significance of Peter's confession on the day of Cæsarea Philippi is to be found not (as Dr. Weiss maintains) in the evidence it gives that his belief in Christ's Messiahship, formed long ago, remained unshaken; but as proof that he was conscious of having found in Christ the Son of God. The reviewer dissents from Dr. Weiss's view that "demoniacal possession" really implied the special agency of evil spirits, and from Dr. Weiss's disposition to resolve several of the leading miracles recorded in the Gospels into "wonderful acts of Providence." Of the article as a whole, it may be said that its chief value is the illustration it furnishes of a healthy critical spirit united to evangelical faith.

— *The Contemporary Review*, September. — "The Gods of Canaan," by Professor Sayce. An article of special value as throwing light upon the relapses of Israel into idolatry. Professor Sayce shows the spiritual significance of the worship of the Canaanites, explains its doctrine of sacrifice, why, for example, the first-born were made to pass through the fire, and discloses the secret of the fascination of this worship for the Israelites. His description of the "Feast of Tammuz" is intelligent and graphic. We see the reason and the meaning of Ez. viii. 14. Any one reading this article will have a clear idea of the cultus of the Canaanites, and of its temptation to Israel.

In the same number, "The Work of Trades Unions," by George Howell, to be read in connection with an article by Frederic Harrison (October), on "The Progress of Labor." The trades unions of Great Britain are becoming great corporations. Here is an extract from the balance-sheet of seven societies, for the year 1882. Income: \$1,500,000. Expenditures: For sickness, \$300,000; funerals, \$100,000; superannuation, \$200,000; accidents, \$30,000: out of work, \$300,000; strikes, \$30,000. Attention may fairly be called to the small amount paid out for strikes. The statistics given in these papers may be compared with those (less accurate) in respect to trades unions in the United States, given before the Education and Labor Commission of the United States Senate.

November. — "The Future Prospects of Madagascar," by Rev. G. A. Shaw (the English missionary imprisoned by the French). A some-

what disappointing title to an article of considerable worth, as showing the resources of the island, the temper of the people, and the present religious state of affairs.

In the same number, Dr. R. W. Dale, of Birmingham, writes of "The Leeds Conference" of the Liberal party. Dr. Dale is worthy of the rank of a statesman. He is probably the foremost representative of the Non-conformist clergy in the Liberal party. His views are intelligent in regard to its policy and its unfinished work. In this article he discusses the relation of the party to Mr. Gladstone's leadership, and the order of the reforms upon which it will insist.

— *The Expositor*. — Dean Plumptre's series of articles upon "Isaiah as a Man," running through recent numbers, may be compared with Matthew Arnold's article upon "Isaiah of Jerusalem," in earlier numbers of the "Nineteenth Century."

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## BOOKS RECEIVED.

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FROM CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.

History of the Christian Church. By Philip Schaff. Vol. II. Ancient Christianity, A. D. 160–325, pp. xiv., 877, 8vo.

The Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief. By George P. Fisher, D. D., LL. D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale College, pp. xviii., 488, crown 8vo.

A Popular Commentary on the New Testament. By English and American Scholars of various Evangelical Denominations. With Illustrations and Maps. Edited by Philip Schaff, D. D., LL. D., Professor of Sacred Literature in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. In four volumes. Vol. IV., The Catholic Epistles and Revelation, pp. 161.

Philosophic Series, No. IV. Certitude, Providence, and Prayer. By James McCosh, D. D., D. L., President of Princeton College, etc., pp. 46, 12mo.

The Theory of Morals. By Paul Janet, Member of the Institute, Author of Final Causes, etc. Translated from the latest French Edition, pp. x., 490, 8vo.

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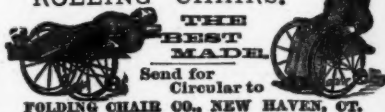
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"Stop him! Stop him! Oho! Hey! Hey!"  
A spirited horse is running away!"  
Galloping, scampering, frightfully fast,  
The terrified animal dashes past  
Through a throng of busy men and boys,—  
Oh! the grim confusion! the horrible noise!  
As they scream, and scatter in great dismay,  
And try their best to get out of the way.  
The runaway 's gone in a moment;—and then  
There are left in his track two wounded men.  
ONE, with a ghastly gash in his head,  
Groans for a moment—and lo! he 's dead.  
Never had he been the least afraid  
Of sudden disaster! nor ever made  
For innocent babes or delicate wife,  
Provision, in case he should lose his life.  
There is grief in the home that once was bright;  
There are darkness and gloom instead of light;  
For the sorrowing mother of infants small  
Is left a widow, with nothing at all.  
THE OTHER, with badly broken bones,  
Is roughly dashed on the paving stones.  
They carry him home and put him to bed,  
And the doctor gravely shakes his head  
As he says, "My friend, it 's a narrow escape;  
I find you in terribly battered shape,  
I hope we 'll be able to pull you through,  
But you 'll stay in bed for a month or two."  
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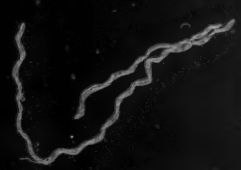
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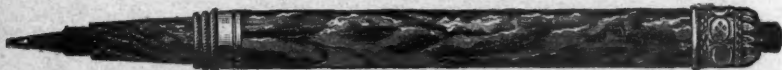
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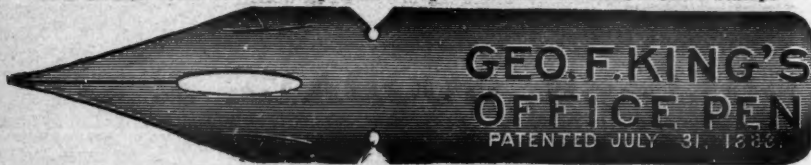
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